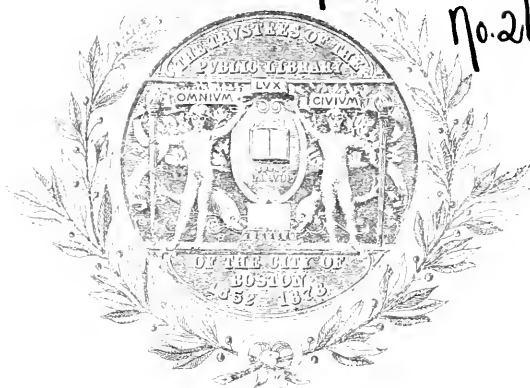


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Proceedings
of the
White House Conference on Children
in a Democracy

WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 18-20, 1940

*Including the General Report Adopted
by the Conference*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Children's Bureau Publication No. 266

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
FRANCES PERKINS, Secretary
CHILDREN'S BUREAU - KATHARINE F. LENROOT, Chief



PROCEEDINGS
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Foreword

The proceedings of the sessions of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy held in Washington, January 18 to 20, 1940, including the addresses and brief summaries of the informal discussions which constituted the chief part of the program, together with the General Report adopted by the Conference on January 19, 1940, constitute a record whose significance has been greatly intensified by the testing to which all democratic institutions have been subjected in the months since the Conference was held. The work of the Conference began early in 1939, and plans were given shape at an initial session held in the White House in April of that year.¹ On October 11, 1939, a letter was received from the President which read, in part, as follows:

It was with great satisfaction that I learned of the recommendation of the Planning Committee of the Conference, adopted on October 5, that the Conference be called into session from January 18 to 20, 1940, and that the Report Committee have ready for submission at that time a report containing its major conclusions and suggestions for a follow-up program. I am in hearty accord with the statement of the Planning Committee to the effect that events in Europe must not be allowed to divert the attention of the American people from the task of strengthening our democracy from within, and that the needs of childhood require particular attention at the present time. Will you, therefore, ask the Planning Committee to proceed with arrangements for a meeting of the Conference on the dates specified?

The Conference has been, indeed, a demonstration of democracy at work, using government as the servant of the people, facilitating the work of citizens representing many different interests and points of view, who have given their time in many days of committee and consultation work and have reached general agreement concerning the aims of our democracy for its children and the dependence of our civilization upon the bodily health, the mental vigor, and the integrity and moral fibre of the younger generation.

Since the Conference was held, a National Citizens Committee and a Federal Interagency Committee have been organized to give leadership in the follow-up program, which will be the test of the value of the whole undertaking. Movements for the organization of State follow-up activities are under way in many States. In declarations on child conservation and national defense adopted by the National Citizens Committee on June 17, 1940, the committee affirmed its conviction that the program adopted by the Conference will make for the national unity so sorely needed at this time and will strengthen the democratic institutions of our country.

FRANCES PERKINS.

¹ Conference on Children in a Democracy—Papers and Discussions at the Initial Session, April 26, 1939. Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, 1939.

Proceedings of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy

*January 18-20, 1940*¹

General Session—January 18

The session of the Conference was called to order by the chairman of the Conference, Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor.

The Conference was opened with an invocation by Reverend Bryan J. McEntegart, director, Division of Children, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York.

Opening Statement by the Chairman

It is my pleasure as well as my privilege to welcome you here this morning in the name of the Government of the United States and to say that this, which is truly a citizens' conference, is a part of the "way of government" in a great democracy like ours.

The very make-up of the conference—the participation of the people rather than the laying out of a plan by any government—is an illustration of our way of life in America, which becomes clear to us as we become more conscious of what the processes of democracy are and why it is we must all practice them.

More and more it becomes obvious that not in any one group resides wisdom as regards the problems of the United States. Out of many backgrounds and many specialized types of knowledge comes the wisdom which can solve some of our great problems, or at least lay the basis for their solution. One of our problems in this, as well as in every other nation, is how to make it possible for the children, who are the future generation, to partake of the best that the Nation is able to give while they are children—while they are in the formative stage, while their health is being built up. So this Conference does, I think, lay before you the fact that there have been brought

¹ The preparation of the proceedings for publication and the summaries of the discussion are the work of the assistant secretary of the Conference, Emma O. Lundberg.

in people of many backgrounds, people with many points of view, and people with a great variety of expert knowledge.

This is a citizens' group. The Government takes no part in it except to be the agency, the medium through which people have come together, which issues the invitations, offers a place of meeting, and will keep the record for distribution so that all of the people throughout the United States who have specialized responsibility for children, and those others who have the general responsibility for the health and welfare and progress of the children of our Nation, may know what it was in 1940 that the people who concentrated most on this problem thought should be done and could reasonably be done within the decade.

In welcoming you here to this 1940 Conference I feel that it is extremely wise for us to remind ourselves of the values that have flowed out of the recommendations of the earlier conferences. This is the fourth White House Conference on child welfare. None of us can say where the leaders of this present Conference will be 10 years hence. Most of us will not be in Washington, but I lay it upon you and upon this Conference to take on the responsibility of seeing to it that the interest of the people of the United States is forwarded in progressive studies of how to make the resources of the country available to the children of the country.

I charge you not to let it drop but to see that it is continued so long as we remain a free and cooperating people. This is important, for as we look back to the first Conference we realize how the Conference in 1909 laid the basis for everything that is being done now. As yet, not all of the recommendations of that Conference have ever been put fully into operation. We are still working at the program laid out then. So, too, with the Conference of 1919 and the Conference of 1930. They made great and fundamental recommendations which we are still working at, and we ought to charge ourselves to realize that those recommendations have not been fully carried out and that it is our duty today, as we think of these new problems laid out and the new recommendations made in this report, to recall that recommendations of other conferences must also be carried out.

It has been natural that there should be, at each of these conferences, certain things which bear the special emphasis of the day and of the period. As we build from decade to decade we will in time come to a program for children which will satisfy the needs of the community and afford a basis upon which public and private institutions, individuals, and families and groups can work for years to come.

Many of you have come here from a great distance, and most of you who have come are here at your own expense. This is the kind of citizens' conference where each one pays his own way and everybody comes for the purpose of getting something and giving some-

thing to the common thought, hoping to take away a program at which everyone can work. Interest in the White House Conference denotes not only that previous conferences have been a success, but that there is an intention and a purpose in American life today, no matter what the storms, no matter what the stresses, no matter what the economic and social problems of the world may be. It is our intent and purpose to keep our minds firmly fixed upon the welfare of our children and to promote that welfare under all conditions, recognizing that they are the vitality, after all, of this great experiment which we are making upon this continent.

When you were here in April, President Roosevelt said:

Our work, of course, will not be finished at the end of this day—it will only have begun. During the greater part of the coming year the members of this Conference, representing every State in the Union and many fields of endeavor, will be at work. We shall be testing our institutions, and our own convictions and attitudes of mind as they affect our actions as parents and as citizens, in terms of their significance to the childhood of our Nation.

This challenge is just as pertinent now as it was at the time the President was thinking of the work you were to do in the period between the day in April when you were here and the termination of the work of the Conference. During the next 2 years, or 5 years, or 10 years, wherever you are, you should be planning to carry out the purposes which will be expressed from time to time during this 3-day session.

In the months that have elapsed since last April, when this Conference first assembled, its members have faithfully discharged the responsibilities placed upon them at the initial session. We have had, as you know, a Planning Committee of some 70 members with the general duty of plotting the course and charting the subjects to be considered. Then there was a smaller committee on organization, which served as an executive committee. Through the efforts of a committee on finance, headed by Fred K. Hoehler, a grant of \$47,000 was obtained from the General Education Board, to be disbursed through the American Council on Education.

The Children's Bureau, whose Chief is executive secretary of this Conference, has been responsible for the detailed work involved in the organization and conduct of its work, and I suspect that many of you think, as I do, that she has done a very good job in this organization, as well as in many other things for the last 25 years.

In accordance with the decision of the Planning Committee at the initial session, the Conference has devoted its attention, not to original studies and investigations which could not have been made with the resources and within the time available but to assembling and collating available information about the conditions surrounding children in America at this time.

This material has been brought together, analyzed, and prepared for the Conference by the Report Committee under the chairmanship of Homer Folks and a research staff headed by Philip Klein. It has been discussed and evaluated by a great variety of consultant groups representing all the particular and special types of experience in the Conference. These groups have reviewed and in many cases have revised the preliminary drafts which were prepared for discussion at this session of the Conference, so that every group report which you will have before you today and tomorrow has been discussed in great detail by specialists in the subject as well as by those who represented a variety of interests in the Conference.

The fact that a single Report Committee, whose membership includes physicians, educators, social workers, representatives of organized religion, and those representing the point of view of parents and citizens, has been responsible for the work in all fields in the Conference seems to me to be of unusual significance. It has meant, of course, a balanced approach in the interest of the children and that approach has been maintained in every subject. No report is just the report of specialists in that subject, but other types of approach and understanding of the child's life have also been brought into play in critical comment and suggestion upon the reports which may have been worked out, in the first place, by specialists.

At the same time, the reports have had the benefit of specialized consideration of particular topics by experts. Some 160 members of this Conference have participated as experts in the forming of these reports. The Report Committee and the staff, moreover, have been aided by discussion at three regional conferences throughout the country and by written suggestions received from members of the Conference and others. I feel that the procedure followed in developing the work of the Conference, in general, has been consistent with its title—"Conference on Children in a Democracy."

Through preliminary drafts of reports you have been kept informed of the development of the work in all stages. The committee and staff of the Conference have responded loyally to the suggestion that because of the danger that present world events might divert public attention and perhaps even resources from children's needs it would be desirable to hold this session earlier than first planned. I know the days and weeks of work for the staff members that this decision has necessitated, but I do not believe the value of the Conference reports has been diminished because of the shorter time in which the work has been done.

The first White House Conference was impressed by the importance of buttressing families against poverty which, in many cases in those days, was completely disrupting the family unit and separating parents

and children, brothers and sisters. Thirty years later this Conference again finds it necessary to give major attention to the economic foundations of family life, but with a basis of far greater experience and an acceptance of public responsibility far more thoroughgoing than was the case in 1909, when the first approach was made.

This Conference also recognizes the threat to child welfare which is involved in the break-down of orderly relations among nations and the lack of balance among the various elements of our own economic life. Nevertheless, the scope and the nature of the reports presented for your consideration tell us that man does not live by bread alone; that to the individual it is the spirit of life in the soul rather than the material resources available to the body that has ultimate significance.

We are the more deeply concerned about conditions which bring pain and sorrow within the four walls of home because we realize that whatever uncertainty, deprivation, and lack of adjustment may threaten our civilization, the simple normal processes of love, parenthood, friendship, worship, joy, and suffering persist and breathe into our lives something of the substance of eternity, which we can use to build on in the future. These are great reasons for making every sacrifice to maintain the institution of the family in its successful care and nurture of the children of this country.

Since this Conference first met, last April, it has lost through death some of its most distinguished and beloved members. I want to mention them to you today and ask you to remember them now and throughout the days of this Conference, not only for the work which they have done, but for the thought and vitality which they have contributed to the subjects we are discussing. We have lost Grace Abbott, C. C. Carstens, Robert Fechner, Robert Marshall, Dr. F. E. Trotter, Alvin Waggoner, Verna L. Nori, Herbert P. Orr. Remember them as we work these 3 days.

Plans for Conference Procedure

By KATHARINE F. LENROOT

First of all, on behalf of the Conference staff, I want to thank many of you who have participated in the preparatory work of the Conference, in the assembling, reviewing, and consideration of material, and in the suggestions that have come to the Report Committee and to the research staff. The staff could never have given to you for your consideration the reports that are before you had it not been for the collaboration and the participation of the widely distributed membership of the Conference.

This is a large conference. Tomorrow we are to meet in general session all day for consideration of and action upon the Conference

Report. The group meetings also will have important material to discuss. It has seemed wise to submit to you for your consideration and action something in the nature of rules for the Conference.

The Committee on Organization met this morning, considered and revised a draft, and submits for your consideration the following statement:

1. Group meetings: Each group will consider a topical report, giving special attention to the recommendations therein. Suggested modifications of the topical report or recommendations, or additional material, will be referred to the Report Committee for its consideration, along with suggestions from other groups. The Conference as a whole will not take action upon the topical reports. They will be utilized by the Report Committee in the preparation of its final report.

Each group will also consider material in the General Report which is related to the topical report under discussion. Suggestions by the group for modifications will be referred to the Report Committee, which will be in session Thursday evening.

2. General sessions for consideration of the General Conference Report: To facilitate discussion, each member desiring to take part is asked to submit his name and address to the chairman and to indicate the portion of the report which he wishes to discuss.

Each discussant will be limited to 5 minutes unless the Conference grants additional time.

Suggestions by Conference members of additional material for the report should be submitted in writing to the executive secretary of the Conference not later than 6 p. m., Thursday, January 18. The Report Committee will consider such suggestions and report its recommendations to the Conference before the close of the afternoon session, Friday, January 19.

After a period of general discussion on the report as a whole, the Conference will consider and vote upon each general division of the report. After such action on each part of the report, a motion to adopt the report as a whole, subject to such editorial changes as the Report Committee may deem necessary, will be in order.

3. Authorization to the Report Committee to complete and publish a final report: Prior to adjournment of the Conference a motion will be in order to authorize the Report Committee to prepare and publish in behalf of the Conference a final report of the Report Committee, which will take into account the material considered and suggestions made in the group meetings, with such modifications and additions as the Report Committee may deem desirable, and will include the recommendations in the General Report adopted by the Conference.

4. Translating the Conference Report into action: The report submitted by the chairman of the Conference Committee on the Follow-Up Program will be discussed under the 5-minute rule in general session on Saturday, January 20, and will be acted upon by the Conference.

The rules of the Conference were adopted as read. A motion was adopted authorizing the Report Committee to act as a Resolutions Committee for the Conference.

Presentation of the General Report for Consideration by the Conference

By HOMER FOLKS, *Chairman, Report Committee*

The actual task assigned to me might be termed, in language used more frequently some time ago than now, a work of supererogation. It is to present to you the report submitted by the Report Committee. But you have already been introduced to that report, and I trust by this time you are quite thoroughly acquainted with it; so I do not hand it to you in the sense that it is in any degree a stranger to you. You are familiar, I presume and I hope, with its details and with its spirit, and the first comment I would make, and for which in behalf of my colleagues on the Report Committee I would ask favorable consideration, is that it is limited to 50 pages. It would have been much easier to write a report of 500 pages. It would have taken much less time, and we present that as an initial factor that might well receive your favorable thought.

Since you have had opportunity to examine it and familiarize yourselves with its text and point of view and its definite suggestions, perhaps I can use the time assigned to me more advantageously in giving you some idea of how this report came to be what it is—of what is back of the opinions here expressed.

The chairman has indicated the nature of this Conference. It was enabled to provide itself, after the meeting of last April, with a staff headed by Philip Klein of the School of Social Work in New York. I speak with great enthusiasm and the highest regard and approbation of Mr. Klein's work and that of his assistants. There were also associated in each of our various general lines of thought a group of consultants. They were people who were supposed to know a lot about these various subjects and who had the reputation of being wise men, able to reach mature views and policies in these various fields. With the aid of the staff and in the light of material submitted to them by the members in most cases, they arrived at suggestions to the Report Committee of text and of recommendations.

The Report Committee has been a very industrious committee. It has not felt that its task was an easy one. It has held many 2-day sessions here in Washington and one lasting 3 days. The committee has taken its job of joint responsibility for this report seriously and thoughtfully.

From these groups of consultants and from the staff members, there came to us a series of tentative reports, topical reports, which in their later stages have come to you. I should like to convey to you, if I could, something of the kind of work that was done on those reports by the Report Committee and that led to the text which has come to you.

While the consultants in each group were people who were as qualified, we believe, as any group in the country to say what needed to be said in that particular field, they had to submit that material at the Report Committee meetings and defend it before a group who were not, except for one or two in each case, experts in that field.

The Report Committee consists of physicians, laymen, lawyers, businessmen, administrators, and all kinds of people, each of whom is qualified by some particular activity or in some particular phase of an activity. Therefore they were in a sense a group of highly intelligent and able guinea pigs on whom the experts tried out their more or less ideal proposals to see how far they would go.

The manner in which those reports were received and dealt with is really important when you come to consider this problem. Perhaps the experts who submitted the material might well have thought that since they knew all about the subjects and most of us knew little about them, it would be more or less a matter of routine approval of the material coming from the consultants, with possibly slight modifications; but that does not describe what took place. The Report Committee was a tough-minded group. They were set in their ways. They knew what they thought and they had to be "shown" at every stage of progress in dealing with each of these reports. That was what kept us here for those 2-day and 3-day meetings.

The Report Committee did a magnificent job of creative thinking as a group on each of these pieces of subject matter, and what you see here does not represent the original opinions of any members of that group nor the average of the opinions with which they set out. The report includes the opinions at which they arrived by thinking with open minds as hard and as frankly and as seriously as they could on subject matter of common interest.

You have discovered that the report covers a great deal of ground; that it deals with subject matter which varies greatly in its inherent nature and possibly in its importance. I can only say in justification that that is the way life comes. If life were more rational, if it

divided itself naturally into compartments which were separable and could be labeled, it would have been easy. But life and the conditions affecting children and child life are a compound of important and less important, of generalized matter, and of detailed subject matter that can be stated concretely.

We had to face early the question of whether we would limit ourselves to things which were ready to be done now, whether we would be influenced by the present state of the Treasury of the United States and the several States and the local governments and individual contributors, by the political programs of existing parties or agencies; or whether we would look upon ourselves as putting together something, not for the distant future primarily, but which we deemed to be possible of realization within the coming decade.

We have tried to aim between discarding everything except that which might be set on foot this year, and, on the other hand, depicting an ideal condition which could not possibly be realized until the more or less distant future. Ten years, at least, is the period within which we think all these things might reasonably well be fully recognized and established as public policies and be well under way.

Discussion by Members of the Planning and Report Committees

ELISABETH CHRISTMAN, *Executive Secretary,*
National Women's Trade Union League

This Conference on Children in a Democracy once more gives tangible appreciation of our national responsibility for child welfare. It emphasizes, too, the significance of real child welfare in a really democratic America.

We know, of course, that the health and well-being of children are interwoven with the economic security and well-being of the family. The welfare of the family—its ability to survive—is built upon the wage-earning capacity of its wage earners. When you realize that wage-earning and farm families constitute nearly 63 percent of all our families in America it will not be difficult for you to understand the deep interest which I, as a representative of organized labor and of women workers everywhere, have in this Conference.

Much has been done to raise wage levels by the trade unions themselves and by legislation sponsored by them and supported not only by organized labor but by the public generally. Raising wage levels in order to increase family income remains the most important single consideration in furthering the national well-being of children.

The income figures which are so well assembled throughout the various reports which the Conference is considering dramatize in a

striking manner the discrepancy between income received and what is necessary for a minimum standard of living. It is startling to realize that in 1935-36 half of America's 29 million families had annual incomes of less than \$1,200 and that more than a million families received less than \$250 a year. These amounts include relief payments of all kinds. More than a quarter of all the Nation's families received yearly incomes under \$750. Staggering as these income figures are, it is even more staggering to note the extent to which relief payments make up the total family income.

The material given in the reports showing our total national income over the last few years makes some striking observations on the proportion of that income which comes from relief payments and how that proportion of our national income has increased. Such a large proportion of our low-income families are almost wholly dependent upon relief for their livelihood and for all their services that the providing of any kind of wage becomes a most imperative problem; but to the extent that we can raise wage levels in families above this relief group, to that extent can we hope to pull up our whole economy to a level which permits the children to have a "break." Concentration on providing needed services for this group is our responsibility, certainly, but concentration on providing work and adequate wages for that work is of even greater importance.

What can families in these low-income groups offer their children? And what hope can we have for the children who come out of these homes into adult life and into the labor market with poor physiques, unable to resist the ordinary stresses and strains of physical existence, and with a completely shattered morale? Can we wonder that there are so many misfits in industry when we realize how many of our children come from these low-income families and try to be wage earners?

My work is with wage earners, particularly with industrial women wage earners, and I am constantly reminded of an experience I had last year in Huntsville, Ala., where I had an opportunity to observe some of the hardships of the textile workers in the mill village. The degree of poverty and the lack of the simplest kind of health and education facilities which resulted from low wage scales have remained with me ever since my visit there. I think of the hundreds of other Huntsvilles throughout our Nation where children growing up in this decade have so little chance to survive and make a living. Child labor, of course, is a recognized blot on any civilized country. We have made rapid and great strides in the last few years toward reducing child labor, but industry still employs far more children than we like to contemplate.

One-third of the unemployed workers in the country today are young people between the ages of 15 and 24. Unemployment of youth in this group is higher than that in any other group of our unemployed population. A number of recent pronouncements of national organizations and of some of our Federal agencies concerned with youth have given evidence of a keen recognition of the seriousness of this problem. We need greater attention to the facilities for providing vocational education for our young people. Study of the content of present school programs shows them to be quite inadequate in fitting our youth for jobs. In addition, the facilities of public employment services should be concentrated on this mammoth problem of locating employment for our youth and of suggesting ways to fit them for this employment. The continuing load of unemployed workers in this age group, between 15 and 24, is, I repeat, one of the great factors making for insecurity now and in the future. There must be a will to solve it.

To bring up the level of child care in localities like Huntsville, not only by extending general service programs where needed, but also by bringing up the general wage level in the industry and giving support to measures to stabilize wages and employment, must be one of the most important concerns of the months ahead if we are to save our children and make it worth their while to want to live in a democracy. For the democratic way of life means not only individual freedom of speech and thought but also economic and industrial freedom to enjoy these less tangible conditions.

There is much of startling significance in these reports, and I cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that they should be "must" reading on this winter's book list of everyone interested in our program. I commend especially for thoughtful rereading the booklet entitled, "Better Care for Mother and Child."¹ Read those figures before you adopt the committee recommendations and maybe you will shout that their recommendations do not go far enough. You will most certainly be stirred to do your part in the follow-up program, which to my mind is all-important if the Conference report is to have practical value.

The resources of my organization, insofar as it is possible to use them to stimulate interest and support for the program which this Conference is sponsoring, will be utilized to the fullest extent. Nothing is of greater moment to the working man or woman in America than the safeguarding of the health, security, and education of the children of today who are the wage earners of tomorrow. Give the child a "break" and we will have the man well on his way!

¹ Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. Washington (1939).

KATHERINE DUMMER FISHER

The things in this report to which I should like to call your attention are the underlying fundamentals which are implied rather than explicit.

Why do we call this a Conference on Children in a Democracy? Why, having done so, do we not say in this report what we mean by democracy? We have said it. Not by definition, not by historical description, not by quotation from the classic phrases of our forefathers. We plan to testify to the faith, not with our lips, but in our lives.

These recommendations which we bring before you must be interpreted as more than a list of material things and beneficial services which a State should see are supplied to its children, that they may in turn be of value to the State. These recommendations are to provide the means and the opportunity for the full development which a free, self-governing people believe to be the right of each of them. Such things cannot be provided without a price. That price might be paid by the giving up of liberty. It can be paid also by the effort required on the part of citizens for thoughtful participation in the process of government. It is not always easy for us to cooperate, but we have that capacity and we do it when an object is sufficiently desired and can be procured by joint effort.

You must read in your report more than requests for running water and playground instructors, for vitamins, vaccination, and vocational advice. We are asking more than adequate housing, schooling that prepares for citizenship, and religious instruction. These we would like to see accepted as factors in the American standard of living. They alone are not enough to make the American way of life. We want for our children the high adventure of pushing out the boundaries of brotherhood.

So we ask you to see that these various specific proposals reflect our democratic faith in the value of every individual, his right to the opportunity of development, his ability to work with his fellows, and his willingness to pay the price of liberty by assuming responsibility.

This faith we must transmit to our children in the only way that can give it validity. We must live it ourselves. It has often been said that morals are caught, not taught; and this happens in families. That is why we want to consider the family, not only as an agency through which the necessities and services may be provided, but as the most potent force in fostering the growth of the young human animal into a personality. This growth occurs in families who are in want through forces beyond their control, in families of the struggling, of the comfortable, and of the small minority handicapped by surfeit.

As our children find understanding, tolerance, respect for themselves and their fellows, as they see us prize liberty beyond luxury, as they see us willing to work with others for the public good, we may hope that they will grow to express in their own lives the ideals of brotherhood.

Many things change, the more important things endure. If we, the members of this Conference, can live our own faith in democracy in such ways as by our efforts to bring to pass those things we here propose, then we may hope that our children will prize this way of life and will, in turn, hand down to the following generation the priceless heritage of being children in a democracy.

A. GRAEME MITCHELL, M. D., *Professor of Pediatrics*
University of Cincinnati College of Medicine
Director of The Children's Hospital Research Foundation

The spirit in which this medical report evolved was the spirit of the Conference itself. All of us desire that all the children of this democracy shall have available potentialities for health as well as provision for good care during illness.

The carefully selected consultants and experts who gave their advice and criticism were well aware that health is a composite of many factors. The most important of these is the child himself or, in the case of illness, the patient. Everyone and everything else is secondary, and the human and material components which go to make up health are part of a complete plan.

Thus the doctor, the nurse, the hospital, the health administrator, the public-health official, and allied personnel must work together, and furthermore, public-health measures, the hospital, the clinic, and many private and public health organizations are part of this plan. Health and illness are problems too complex to be solved by any one of these human elements or organizations.

That is to say, there must, for example, be good water and milk supply and there must be good hospitals. Without them the doctor alone, the nurse alone, the public-health official alone cannot properly and completely serve the child. That is why this Conference seems to me to be so significant; it is a council of all groups interested in children and not a gathering of autonomous units.

It is equally obvious that proper physical and mental health cannot be expected unless there are good housing, proper clothing, satisfactory food, happy family life, facilities for recreation and education, to mention only a few of the necessities which this Conference will discuss in relation to the total needs of the child.

For many years, and perhaps with heightened speed during the past decade, knowledge of the health needs of children has been

acquired. This knowledge has come about by the contributions of medical science, which has been concerned, especially recently, with conditions affecting growth and development of infants and children, with the factors which cause disease and injury in the newborn period, with nutrition in its broader aspects and the requirements for dietary essentials such as minerals and vitamins, with the effect of the endocrine glands on physical and mental growth, with the problems connected with adolescence, and the like.

Progress has also been made in protection against certain diseases, and especially in the treatment and cure of other diseases, by antiserum and the use of certain chemical substances. As the report will show, the health of children has been given increased attention and support on the part of the community, both by private health organizations and by government, and the public itself has been stimulated to an interest in health and action to secure it.

In medical schools and universities attention has been focused on teaching physicians and other professional workers the various aspects of the prevention of disease and the means of carrying out the measures which present knowledge warrants. Postgraduate education in such matters has been supported by the funds of State and Federal Governments, and local, State, and National medical societies, as well as universities, have conducted postgraduate courses with telling effect. It is obvious that many professional groups and organizations have continued research, but they have also become increasingly involved in the spread of knowledge and in its application. Since this is a report on medical care, I may be pardoned for calling attention to the fine contribution made by the medical profession to this progress through its individual members and its recognized organizations.

Some facts which demonstrate progress and the attempt to meet existing problems have been mentioned. No complacency, and certainly no boastfulness, can accompany these remarks, for there is much to be done. There is great need for continued research, for education, for better care in pregnancy, for continued care throughout childhood, for increased emphasis on community responsibility—in short, for expansion of all health and medical services. It is a commentary on our democracy that we possess a large body of knowledge which is not reaching in application to all its citizens.

Certain deficiencies in this respect which cannot be ignored are matters of common observation as well as of statistics, and the facts show that there is an obvious inequality in distribution of medical care in economic groups and in communities. Certain urban communities do better than others, and there is a great discrepancy between the facilities existing in urban and in rural communities.

Even in those cities in which medical care has received more than average attention there has been greater emphasis on the care of illness than on the prevention of disease and on the measures which will maintain health. May I cite a few of many facts?

Each year nearly a quarter of a million mothers are not attended by a physician at childbirth; nearly a quarter of a million newborn babies do not have the benefit of medical care in the first few days of life, and often no skilled nursing care; of all children under 15 years of age having illness which disables them for 7 or more days, 28 percent have neither a physician in attendance nor hospital care; approximately 90,000 children die annually from whooping cough, measles, diphtheria, scarlet fever, pneumonia, influenza, diarrheal diseases, rheumatic heart disease, tuberculosis, or accidents, and many of these conditions are theoretically or actually preventable; several million school children have defective vision, more than a million and a half have impaired hearing, and at least two-thirds of all school children have dental caries. These are, as I have stated, only constituents of a more complete list of problems which you will find mentioned in the report, but they are sufficient to outline some of the needs which our democracy should attempt to meet for its children.

What is not being done can readily be translated into positive statements of what should be done.

Again time permits a statement of only some of the requirements:

Provision for premarital and preconceptional instruction and care of the mother, as well as care throughout pregnancy by qualified physicians and nurses in the home, prenatal clinic, or hospital; care at delivery by qualified physicians and nurses; care when necessary in an approved hospital which is adequately staffed; postpartum care in home, hospital, or clinic, including supervision of nutrition of the mother and medical and nursing care of the infant; facilities for expert diagnosis and consultation when necessary; supervision of the physical and mental health of the child until at least adolescence or early adult life has been reached; adequate care in the home or hospital during illness.

Obvious accessories to and details of such a program are contained in the report.

Here again facts must be faced. Our democracy is such that some families are able through their own resources to furnish good housing, clothing, food, recreation, education, and medical care to their children. Other families must face from time to time unpredictable emergencies that put on them an extra load which is beyond their ability to carry and which causes health as well as other essentials of family life to suffer. Then there is the group who are unable through their own resources to provide even the minimum needs.

We must, perhaps, redefine what is meant by the term "medically needy." It is known, for example, that of the more than 2 million births which take place in the United States yearly, a million occur in families on relief or with an income of less than \$1,000 a year; that approximately 900,000 births occur in families on relief or with an income of less than \$800 a year; that, for example, in large

cities 37 percent of children in families with incomes of less than \$1,000 had neither a physician's care nor hospital care during disabling illnesses, whereas only 20 percent in families with incomes of \$3,000 or more had no such care; that hospital facilities are not obtainable in many rural communities even for those people who are able to pay for them, and that in such communities there is a lack or inadequacy of health programs and of professional personnel.

All these inadequacies and many others constitute failure to protect the children of this democracy. All these inequalities are the concern of all of us—of the local community, the State, and the Nation.

It is certain that more thought must be given, more activity expended, more facilities and personnel supplied before we can hope to cope with these obvious problems. Certainly we would like to see every family financially and intellectually able to furnish individual care to its children, but even for those who are able there must be brought to bear the influence and service of many organizations, and of local, State, and Federal governments, in mass prevention and in establishment of hygienic measures which the individual demands of his community. Certainly, too, there is no one who does not wish all children to have access to health and to care during illness.

I am far less competent than most of you to analyze the measures suggested by your committee to meet these problems; it is not my function just now and they are set forth for you in the more detailed report. There you will find the specific recommendations concerning the means whereby we can continue our progress and expedite it, whereby we can and should continue research and education, whereby we can secure the application of knowledge and of preventive procedures to all children. Specific recommendations emphasize important phases such as mental health and nutrition.

It is recognized that existing facilities, both private and public, including the practice and the practitioners of medicine, should be utilized before new facilities are provided, but these new facilities must be provided by the expansion of existing facilities and by the institution of new ones.

All this should be done with care and by cooperation. Some communities, for example, may need new hospitals and health centers as well as other facilities, but the hospital will do little good unless it can be supported and unless it can be staffed with qualified personnel. Perhaps it may be transportation facilities which certain communities need rather than new hospitals.

There must be expansion of full-time local health organizations on a city, county, and district basis; there must be coordination of health and medical services for which health, welfare, education, social services, or other public or private agencies are responsible. Preventive

and curative medical care must be made available and accessible to all members of the family if children are to be properly cared for.

Voluntary hospital insurance may be encouraged for certain groups, and other plans for budgeting for illness must be developed. To all families below the economic level at which it is possible to budget for the cost of illness and the cost of health, aid must be given or the children of our democracy will suffer.

Since I have been asked to give this report and since I have done so, although inadequately, perhaps I may be allowed, as I close, the privilege of interpretation. I feel sure after my analysis of the report that there is no one in this Conference or elsewhere who will fail to recognize the inadequacies of our present state of medical care. There may, of course, be some understandable difference of opinion concerning the extent of the needs and their type, and there may be some discussion of methods of approach.

Again speaking as an individual and as an interpreter, I may say that I believe that the recommendations of this report are consistent with the democracy in which we live and with our existing system.

I am sure that we all recognize that we should attempt to secure good health and satisfactory medical care as an important part, although only a part, of the complete plan to live up to the principles of our democracy. Our duty to the children of a democracy requires that they possess abounding and optimum health.

W. R. Oga, *Director of Research*
American Farm Bureau Federation

In these troublous times it is of special significance that this White House Conference is to consider the welfare of children in a democracy.

Today the boastful exponents of the totalitarian state are challenging the ability of a democracy to provide effectively for the national welfare. I believe that the American people, living in the greatest democracy of our times, are ready to accept that challenge and to demonstrate that democracy can and does work—that we can and will, through democratic processes, meet adequately the needs of all our people.

If democracy is to endure, we must learn how to make it work to meet human needs adequately. We cannot attain this goal by living on the borrowed glories of the past nor by mere wishful thinking or academic planning. Fundamental to its realization is a fearless self-appraisal to determine wherein we have failed and why—to face frankly and realistically the great problems of unemployment, public relief, the unbalance in our national economy, the inequalities of opportunities in a land of unparalleled resources, the powerful special-interest groups often sparring for special advantages, the limitations

of partisan politics, the tendency of citizens to allow their prejudices to obscure their responsibilities and opportunities to help solve the great social and economic problems that vitally affect the welfare of children.

We rightfully glory in our democratic heritage and the magnificent achievements which our vast resources have made possible in so short a time, but can we truthfully say that democracy has worked as effectively as we are entitled to believe it should—

When 16 million families, 74 percent of all nonfarm families in the United States, did not have sufficient income even in the so-called prosperous year 1929 to provide an adequate diet at moderate cost for their children?

When more than 9½ million families at the bottom of the income scale, comprising 32 percent of all families, received no more total income than 150,000 families at the top of the scale, comprising but one-half of 1 percent of all families?

When nearly a quarter million mothers and babies have no medical care at childbirth and the first few days of life?

When competent authorities estimate that at least one-half of maternal deaths and at least one-third of infant deaths are preventable, yet mothers and infants are allowed to die for lack of proper medical care?

When 28 percent of all children under 15 years of age who had disabling illnesses for more than 7 days had neither medical nor hospital care?

When in 1930 more than 800,000 children between 7 and 13 years, most of them in the poorest rural areas, did not attend school?

When one-third of all unemployed workers are young people 15 to 24 years of age, who are denied the opportunity of a job and the opportunity for further education?

In the main, the greatest inequalities exist in the rural areas. This is due to the enormous concentration of population and taxable wealth in urban areas and the abnormally low rural income.

In the field of education, for example, farm families have 31 percent of the Nation's children, yet receive less than 10 percent of the national income with which to support and educate these children. The President's Advisory Committee on Education found that in general the least satisfactory schools are found in rural areas; that under present conditions there is no prospect that the rural areas will be able to lessen this gap through their own resources; that low school expenditures in rural areas have unfortunate results for the children and that the education which can be provided at present in many localities is below the minimum necessary to preserve democratic institutions.

These inferior facilities are not due to unwillingness or lack of effort to support education; on the contrary, the committee found that the rural areas on the whole are making a much greater effort in supporting their inferior facilities than the urban areas, which with far less sacrifice enjoy greater facilities.

Similarly, hospitals and health and medical facilities are concentrated largely in urban areas. Two-thirds of our counties, mainly

rural, do not have even the minimum of a modern health service; 1,300 counties are without hospitals; the cost of medical and hospital care all too often exceeds farmers' ability to pay, with the result that many farm families go without adequate medical care and consult a physician only in acute emergencies, while young, promising doctors are reluctant to settle in rural areas, not only because of insufficient income but also because of the dearth of modern diagnostic and hospital facilities with which to practice scientific medicine.

In the field of housing it is estimated that at least 3 million farm homes do not meet even the minimum standards of health and comfort. A recent (unpublished) study by the Bureau of Home Economics showed that 85 percent of farm homes have no bathrooms; 83 percent, no water piped into the house; 93 percent, no indoor toilets; and more than 15 percent, no toilet facilities whatever. About 70 percent are inadequately screened, and 27 percent have no screens at all. More than 82 percent need repainting, and 40 percent have no paint whatever. Why? Not because farmers do not want better housing, but because of their inability to provide it with existing low incomes.

These conditions are the inevitable result of human impoverishment growing out of the economic inequality of agriculture during most of the past 20 years. Despite the progress made in recent years toward a fair balance in our economic structure, farmers are still exchanging their products for industrial goods at a 21-percent penalty. This unbalance, which curtails the purchasing power of the 52 million people living in rural areas, is a major reason why there are still millions of unemployed men and billions of unemployed dollars.

About 40 percent of all rural youth ultimately go to the cities to earn their livelihood. The cost to farm people of rearing, educating, and training these youth during the 10-year period ended in 1930 is estimated at about 14 billion dollars.

The fundamental philosophy upon which our democracy is based is equal opportunity for all. Inequalities and unmet needs, whether in country or in city, must be removed, not only for the sake of democracy itself but for the sake of the children.

It is not enough merely to provide for the material needs of our children. We have left God out of our schools, our family life, our business and professional world, and our every-day living. Society and our children are suffering the penalty of decaying morals, increasing crime, growing cynicism, and unconcern for the welfare of others. Our children need a vital, sustaining religious faith—faith in God, faith in one's fellow man, faith in democratic processes, faith in the ultimate triumph of right.

These are some of the realities confronting us despite the progress we have made. Significantly, this White House Conference report is not content to describe conditions and cite statistics, but, mindful of the welfare of 36 million children, it rightfully concentrates major attention upon constructive programs of action to improve the welfare of children.

We refuse the philosophy of despair that says we cannot solve these problems. We refuse to be content to look on these human needs and then pass by on the other side of the road. There can be no compromise with human suffering and destitution, especially when our children are concerned. We are dealing not with abstract facts and statistics but with human destitution and misery, with stunted and diseased bodies, with hunger and ignorance, exploitation and human greed, with the blighted opportunities and blasted hopes of millions of children who seek to find their places in life and make their contribution to human advancement.

This report recognizes that the fundamental solution is restoration of the income of the masses of people so they can meet these needs adequately. Meanwhile millions of families must be cared for and better opportunities provided for millions of children. To meet these immediate needs, the report proposes some specific recommendations which our chairman has already presented to you: Improved public relief and public works, improved housing, better schools, churches, libraries, recreational centers and other community institutions, improved and expanded hospital, health, and medical care and facilities, and so forth, must be made available to all the people, both rural and urban, in all sections of the country.

Such a program costs money. In many cases the areas where the greatest need exists have the least financial resources to meet these needs. Therefore it is imperative, especially in the fields of education and health, to equalize these burdens through a system of Federal grants to the States in order to assure equality of opportunity and to meet the vital needs of our children.

Meanwhile the future welfare of our children demands that increasing attention be given to the solution of our basic economic problems which create and maintain these inequalities and distressing conditions.

American agriculture recognizes that these problems cannot be solved by agriculture, or by industry, or by labor alone, but only through the mutual understanding and cooperation of all groups. We agree with the splendid statement in this report :

The basic economic problem of our children is the economic problem of the Nation, to find a sound balance of wages, prices, and financing that will provide a growing purchasing power to industrial workers and farmers and profitable investment of capital.

American agriculture seeks no position of special advantage, but we do seek the removal of the economic barriers which deny equality of opportunity to our children. American agriculture stands ready to join hands with industry and labor and with government to restore a fair balance between farm prices and industrial prices and wages so as to insure the maximum interchange of goods and services, and to produce an abundance of goods and services at fair prices and fair wages so as to raise the national income to the maximum level for all the people and thereby make it possible to provide essential services for all our children.

When the welfare of our children is at stake, let us think less about our differences and more about our common needs and mutual responsibilities. The time has come for national unity for the welfare of our children rather than selfish group advantage.

We talk about conservation of soil, water, forests, and so on, but what about the conservation of the greatest of all our resources—our children? Certainly they are worth as much to taxpayers and to our Government as battleships and airplane bombers. Certainly they are worth the expenditure of tax revenues to improve and expand educational facilities, medical and health facilities, and other vital child-welfare services. Surely they are worth the mobilization of our vast resources in intelligent planning through democratic processes in order that poverty, human selfishness, and neglect may not crush out their opportunities and blight their future. They are even worth the sacrifice a little tradition, and a little personal liberty, if necessary, to assure more security, freedom, and protection for all.

To bring the matter a little closer to each citizen, let us ask ourselves if these 36 million children of ours are not worth a little more sacrifice and effort on the part of every citizen to see that their vital needs are met, to do his part in translating into human law, into human relationships, and into human institutions, both public and private, the divine law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor"—and may I add, "thy neighbor's children"—"as thyself."

FLOYD W. REEVES, Ph. D., LL. D., *Director*
American Youth Commission

I shall confine my remarks today to a selected few of the recommendations in certain sections of the report, those dealing with educational services in the community, protection against child labor, and youth and their needs.

The section on educational services in the community includes a discussion of the three major institutions responsible for carrying on community educational programs: the school, the library, and the recreational center. It is well that these three agencies should be

dealt with in a single section of the report because no hard and fast lines separate their functions.

The establishment and maintenance of a fair educational opportunity for every child is set forth in the report both as a responsibility of democracy and as an unattained goal to be striven for in this Nation. Few, if any, will disagree with this aim or with the statement that democracy has a responsibility for its achievement. I shall, therefore, limit my comments to the means that may be used to achieve this desirable end.

In many parts of the United States it will be impossible to reach any of the desirable goals set forth for the schools unless action is taken to compensate for the present inequalities among States and within States in financial ability to support education.

The President's Advisory Committee on Education pointed out that there are eight States—principally in the northeast and the far west—which, by the use of average effort as measured by a model taxing system, could spend more than \$75 per child per year for schools. For the most part these States actually do spend that much or more.

On the other hand, the committee showed that another nine States—principally in the southeast—by the same measure of effort could not spend as much as \$25 per child. Every one of these States is at present spending more for schools than the measure of average effort, yet in six of them the actual expenditure is under \$25 per child—less than one-third of the amount which the eight most fortunate States could spend with average effort, and less than one-half of the national average expenditure.

The advisory committee also reminded us that in 1930 the farm population of the Nation was responsible for the care and education of 31 percent of the Nation's children but received only 9 percent of the national income.

This very great disparity is accentuated by regional differences. In 1930 the farm population of the Southeastern States had about 41¼ million children aged 5 to 17, but it received only 2 percent of the national income. The nonfarm population of the Northeastern States had 8½ million children and 42 percent of the national income. In other words, this group had 21 times the amount of income out of which to support and educate only twice as many children as had the farm people of the southeast.

If the first three of the recommendations relating to the schools were carried out it would be possible to reach all the other goals. But unless these three recommendations are put into effect it will be quite impossible in many parts of the United States to achieve some, or even any, of the report's other recommendations relative to the schools.

The three recommendations which seem to me most essential read as follows:

1. Units of local school attendance and administration should be enlarged wherever necessary in order to broaden the base of financial support and to make possible a modern well-equipped school for every child at a reasonable per capita cost.

2. Substantial financial assistance should be granted by every State to its local school systems for the purpose of equalizing tax burdens and reducing educational inequalities.

3. An extended program of Federal financial assistance to the States should be adopted in order to reduce inequalities in educational opportunity among States.

These recommendations are in full accord with those of the American Youth Commission in its statement adopted October 9, 1939, and recently published in its pamphlet, *A Program of Action for American Youth*. They are also in full accord with the recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Education in its report of February 1938.

With regard to the section on leisure-time activities I especially commend the proposal that the development of recreation should be recognized as a public responsibility on a par with the responsibilities for education and for health. This undertaking should be shared by local communities, the States, and the Federal Government. Immediate steps should be taken by each community to appraise local recreational facilities and to plan systematically to remove inadequacies.

I also agree that special attention should be given to children in rural areas, children in congested city neighborhoods, children in low-income families, the children of Negroes and other minority groups, children with mental, emotional, or physical handicaps, and children who have just left school. Let me point out that these are precisely the same groups which need special attention in education.

I endorse unreservedly the proposal that a national commission be created to study leisure-time needs and recreational resources.

Turning now to the section on libraries, I would emphasize especially the recommendation that Federal aid to the States is as necessary for libraries as for schools, and for the same reasons. Federal grants for education should be available for school libraries, and, at least at the beginning, special Federal grants should go to the States for the extension of rural library services for both children and adults. Both these recommendations are in accord with the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education.

Among the recommendations under the heading of child labor I would stress the following: "Financial aid from public sources should be given whenever necessary to young persons to enable them to continue their education even beyond the compulsory-attendance age if they wish to do so and can benefit thereby."

I agree with the recommendation that schooling should be both compulsory for and available to every child up to the age of 16. This is a corollary of the recommendation in the section on youth and their needs, which reads as follows:

Federal, State, and local governments should provide work projects for youth over 16 not in school, who cannot obtain employment. Such work should be useful, entailing possibly the production of some of the goods and services needed by young people themselves and other unemployed persons. * * * There should be further experimentation in part-time work and part-time schooling.

Both these recommendations coincide with statements recently adopted by the American Youth Commission. In my opinion they constitute matters of immediate urgency among the excellent lists of recommendations which the proposed report of this Conference contains.

It seems to me to be a matter of major importance that compulsory education should not be extended beyond the sixteenth year. If young people desire to continue school beyond that age and cannot do so without financial assistance, such assistance should be afforded to them. But if they do not desire to continue full-time education and cannot find employment in private enterprise they should be provided with jobs under public auspices. They should have the opportunity for part-time education whether they have jobs in public or in private enterprise.

I know of places in the United States where, at the present time, very close cooperation exists between most of the agencies working in the fields relating to the welfare of children. But I also know of many communities and States where close cooperation does not exist. I hope that the work of this Conference and the publication of its report will bring about closer cooperation among all the agencies dealing with children.

As I look ahead and try to visualize what might be the outcomes of this great Conference, it seems to me that if it has no other direct result than that of making those working in any one of the areas of social service acquainted with the needs and the work of those working in other areas, it will have accomplished something that is very much worth while.

C.-E. A. WINSLOW, Ph. D., *Professor of Public Health, School of Medicine,
Yale University*

Dr. Mitchell has reviewed the health program as presented in the report so admirably that I need not take time to repeat what he has said in regard to the advances made and the new problems that present themselves at the end of this decade.

As Dr. Mitchell has said, it has become increasingly clear that the preventive and diagnostic services of the conventional public-health

program must, if they are to be effective, be supported by a parallel program of medical care for those who need such care and cannot now obtain it. The National Health Survey has made this need abundantly clear.

As one goes down the economic scale, sickness increases and medical care declines. Even in our cities more than a quarter of the children suffering from disease so serious as to disable them for a week or more receive neither medical nor hospital care of any kind. Each year nearly a quarter of a million mothers must go without the attendance of a physician in the crisis of childbirth.

If the American child is to have that right to life, not to speak of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which was visualized by our forefathers, it is essential, as our report points out, that for the large section of the population now without the benefits of modern medical science there should be made available "adequately supervised medical care through a program or programs financed by general tax funds, by insurance contributions from beneficiaries and government, or by such combination of methods as may be best suited to local conditions."

This is the sort of broad program that was suggested at the National Health Conference in 1938, and essentially the program which is embodied in the national health bill introduced in 1939 by Senator Wagner. You will hear that this bill is going to put a straight jacket upon the medical profession and rob it of liberty of action and force the American people into some particular form of bureaucratic medicine. That is, of course, completely untrue, as everyone must know who has read the act through once. All the act does is to stimulate experimentation which is to be initiated by the various States along lines that seem suitable to local conditions. Any adequate program, however, must involve some plans of voluntary insurance for those of the middle economic group, some plan of compulsory insurance for those on a lower economic level, and a program of tax-supported care, not only for the indigent but for many other persons in rural areas.

This is the major public-health challenge of the moment, as I see it, but there are many other things which are vitally important and which open up new vistas in this campaign of public health. We have done much, I think, in the 30 years since the Conferences were initiated. We have done much, as a people, in substituting preventive medicine for the purely alleviative medicine of an earlier day.

I am wondering, however, if preventive medicine is enough. Even this term has a negative aspect; perhaps something which might be called "constructive medicine" may be the watchword of the future.

The total death rate has dropped from 18 per 1,000 population in 1900 to 12 and it may be possible to get it to 8, but it is not possible to go much below that figure. Does that mean public health must go

out of business? Rather, it opens up a new vision, not merely of keeping down the mortality statistics, but of vigor and efficiency and joy of living. This vision opens up such new problems as nutrition and housing and recreation. Those are going to be as important to the health officer in the future as diphtheria antitoxin and septic tanks have been in the past.

I think one of the most important recommendations of the report is that a national nutrition committee be appointed by the President of the United States to study this problem.

Then there is the problem of housing. Some people think of housing as if it were merely dwellings. It is important to have individual dwellings where children can have light and sun and air, but that is a very small part of the housing problem of today. A housing project, in the modern sense, is a group of buildings built as a neighborhood which is designed to contribute not only to the physical health but to the mental and social health of the group concerned. Now, this is peculiarly interesting from the standpoint of those whose special work is with families, for so many of our modern activities tend toward the development of recreation and social centers outside the home. The housing project sets the recreation of the family in the home itself, and, therefore, I think we can fairly say that a major need at the present moment is the continuation and extension of the United States housing program—a program which, as you know, is facing a crisis in the present Congress.

The bill for continuing the housing program failed of passage at the last session and is coming up at the present session. It will be a very severe set-back to the entire movement if Congress fails to pass the bill this year, for the continuance of this program is an essential need of children in a democracy. Democratic children cannot be developed in the slums.

These are controversial matters, as has been pointed out. We cannot have health, we cannot have houses for the children, unless we are prepared to pay for them. Our conception of neutrality in the United States at the present moment involves keen sympathy and admiration for those who, many of us believe, are fighting the battle of civilization, but an equally firm determination not to let their fight cost us anything at all. We show somewhat the same kind of neutrality in the warfare against disease and poverty. There are plenty of people who think the children and mothers of the Nation should be preserved but not if by any chance it is going to cost anything.

At the meeting last night someone raised the question whether we could do these things without the reconstruction of our present economic existence. Well, England has done them. Sweden has done them. Denmark has done them. Holland has done them. I do not

know about all the other fields, but in health and housing all we are asking is that we should make the start they made 25 years ago and follow the English record until the problem has been solved. If they can do it we should be able to do it.

Some people think the word "economy" means keeping money in the pocket. If you will look up the derivation you will find that "economy" means the wise management of the household. We have another word for keeping money in the pocket. It is "parsimony." Economy means wise and judicious management for the general future good of the individual and of the Nation. From that standpoint it is good economy to do the things that have been suggested in this report and it will be very bad economy if we continue to save dollars in this country at the cost of the bodies and the minds and the souls of American children.

THE CHAIRMAN. It is very heartening to us to know that in this Conference there is a woman who carries the same sort of responsibility in her country, which is our neighbor across the northern border. It gives me great pleasure to welcome Miss Charlotte Whitton, the executive director of the Canadian Welfare Council, a friend and associate in all matters which have to do with child welfare. She has often consulted with our Children's Bureau, has worked with us on the League of Nations, on child welfare and nutrition, and all that sort of thing, and I know you will be glad to find her a member of your group today. I am happy to introduce Miss Whitton and ask her to speak.

Miss WHITTON. Madam Secretary, members and guests of the Conference, we do indeed consider it a high privilege to have the honor of participating in this Conference through a representative of the Canadian Social Welfare Council, because our welfare has drawn very largely for its nurturing from the United Kingdom and the United States. It is clear that for the courageous leadership of the United States we, in Canada, owe you a debt so great you need never suggest its repayment.

We are indeed bound, in our two lands, to the theme of your Conference, recognizing as it does that the successful operation of the mechanism of democratic government requires a citizen body that is strong, intelligent, secure, and happy, and that for the annoying internal aggression of poverty, suffering, disease, and insecurity there must be effort to the same degree that there is against external aggression. In that common cause against these gnawing internal forces which threaten democracy there can be no question of our unity of interest.

If, Madam Secretary, we in Canada appear to be concentrating upon the protection of our democratic institutions in resisting other forms of aggression, we will look to your leadership to keep afloat the flag of protection for the children in a democracy; and we shall attempt, perhaps, to repay you with a little service in protecting democracy for the children. We thank you and we wish your Conference, your children, and your democracy Godspeed and well-being, now and always.

The CHAIRMAN. I am delighted at the number of people who are here today as guests as well as those who are members of the Conference. I see, sitting in the front row, a lady who comes from a foreign country and who happens to be traveling in America at this time. She has done such distinguished service for the public good in her country that I know she will forgive me if I call on her to say a word to us. She is Fru Betzy Kjelsberg, who has been the chief inspector of factories in Norway and who in recent years has devoted practically all her time to the improvement of conditions of women and children in Norway.

Madam KJELSBURG. Madam Chairman, members of the Conference, I am so happy that I postponed my journey and was able to accept the invitation to come here today. I have learned much, and I will go home to Norway and tell my people what you are doing over here and what you are trying to do. Of course, we have heard what has been accomplished in this wonderful country.

Norway is a little country with only 3 million people. We have been working for years trying to get as good social laws as possible for our country, and I am glad to tell you that we no longer have any child labor in Norway. I also want to tell you that night work is forbidden for young persons under 18 years, that we try to get rid of as much night work as possible, both for men and for women, and that we try to have night work only in plants where the work must be kept going on. Neither men nor women are allowed to work in bakeries in Norway during the night. I am glad to say that it was the doctors in Norway who helped us to get the law that forbids night work in bakeries.

I am so thankful that I have the opportunity to be here, and I do hope that the Scandinavian countries, Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, may be allowed to continue their work for better health and for happy family life.

Afternoon Session—January 18

Group Meetings

The afternoon of January 18 was devoted to group meetings for the discussion of topical statements. Members of the Conference divided into 11 groups for discussion of the preliminary statements on the following subjects:

1. The Family as the Threshold of Democracy.
James S. Plant, M. D., Sc. D., chairman.
2. Economic Resources of Families and Communities.
Edwin E. Witte, Ph. D., chairman.
3. Housing the Family.
Frank G. Boudreau, M. D., chairman.
4. Economic Aid to Families.
William Hodson, chairman.
5. Social Services for Children.
Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, LL. D., chairman.
6. Children in Minority Groups.
Charles S. Johnson, Litt. D., chairman.
7. Religion and Children in a Democracy.
Rabbi Edward L. Israel, LL. D., chairman.
8. Health and Medical Care for Children.
Henry F. Helmholtz, M. D., chairman.
9. Education Through the School.
William G. Carr, Ph. D., chairman.
10. Leisure-Time Services for Children.
Grace L. Coyle, Ph. D., chairman.
11. Child Labor and Youth Employment
Courtenay Dinwiddie, chairman.

Reports of suggestions by the groups for modifications of the General Report were presented by the chairmen of the groups to the Report Committee in session the evening of January 18 and taken into consideration by the committee in drafting modifications of the General Report for presentation to the Conference on January 19.

Morning Session—January 19

Chairman, Frances Perkins

Opening Statement by the Chairman

The work of the groups discussing the topical reports went on all yesterday afternoon. Most of you know, as members of one or more of those groups, the degree of discussion that took place and the degree of difference of opinion that developed in the discussion. The material from those groups, together with the material which has been submitted by individual members of the Conference and by other interested persons, was handed to the Report Committee, which was in session throughout the evening and far into the night. Thus the amount of work and consideration given to the work of the report which will be discussed this morning is very encouraging. Nothing was discussed lightly. Everything was discussed with great seriousness and intentness of purpose, in order to get out the best report of which we are capable in this year 1940.

The preliminary report was distributed to all of you several days ago, and you were asked to read especially the section in which your field of interest or your field of experience was particularly vivid so that you might be able to participate in this discussion and in the consideration of this report upon the basis of your own experience. I think we should remind ourselves again that this is a body of citizens thinking of laying a pattern and a plan for the better care and development of our children for the next 10 years.

This day is to be devoted to the general discussion of the report, section by section. It is hoped that during the day we can adopt finally whatever parts of this report seem to the Conference to be valid and important. This will be a free discussion. It is a well-organized meeting, but there is nothing cut and dried about it. There is no reason why the report should be adopted as written if the majority of the persons in the Conference do not so desire it. I want to make that perfectly clear to you.

After a period of general discussion of the report as a whole the Conference will consider and vote upon each section of the report. After such action on each portion of the report, a motion to adopt the report as a whole, subject to the various changes necessary, will be in order.

Before proceeding to the general discussion this morning, in order to bring to your minds some of the points of view which have been

prevailing in the preparatory work, I want to call upon two of the vice chairmen of the Conference to review for us what seem to them to be the points of greatest significance and the general objectives which seem to them to be the most important.

Remarks by Hon. Milburn L. Wilson

Under Secretary of Agriculture

During these days when national unity is essential it is unusually timely that people from all walks of American life should gather here to undertake one of our periodic appraisals of the situation of our children. Leaders of past generations realized how important such appraisals are in improving the conditions in which democratic representative government can flourish. If such appraisals were important in earlier times, when democracy was moving forward unchallenged the world over, they are doubly important today.

When democracy is being challenged there is no more important subject that America can concentrate on than this one of evaluating the opportunities open to our children.

In the America of today there are two patterns of life. One is the urban; the other, the rural. They are not separate and distinct from each other, yet their basic characteristics differ in many respects.

Recognition of these different patterns will not keep us from centering our thoughts upon all our children. But it will enable us the easier to keep in mind the central importance of the countryside as the reservoir of our population. Our rural areas provide not only food and fiber for the Nation but also more than their proportionate share of our children. The urban birth rate is lower than the rural; 10 adults in the large cities have only 7 children on the average while 10 adults in our farm regions are raising 14 children. For both urban and rural cultures this is of central importance.

In this situation rural poverty takes on added significance. For a good many years now the existence of widespread poverty in the cities has been pretty well known; not so, however, the existence of widespread poverty in the country. One of the things the country has come to know about during the past decade is this matter of rural poverty. Along with the attractive side of life in our farming regions we have the seamy side.

It has cost us a good deal to become aware of rural poverty. Only through agricultural depression, floods, droughts, dust storms, and the onward march of technology in agriculture has it been brought forcibly to our attention. But if it has gained a place in the Nation's consciousness, perhaps the price has not been too high.

Through the work of the Department of Agriculture, particularly that of the Farm Security Administration, our research program, and our extension activities, we are learning a good deal about how widespread and how acute rural poverty really is. We are not only uncovering the facts of rural poverty but within the limits of law and of their financial resources Government agencies are shaping their various programs to do everything possible to remedy these conditions. It can be truthfully said that today the children in our rural areas are receiving more attention from Government than ever before. We are recognizing that agriculture is something more than the raising and disposing of crops and livestock. It is a way of life, possessing values unique in themselves and vital to the welfare of the Nation as a whole. Any increased recognition, therefore, that rural children are receiving today should be regarded as only a beginning. Much more must be done, both by Government and by other agencies, before the matter will be receiving attention commensurate with its importance. In view of the high rural birth rate the existence of rural poverty as a factor in determining the future course of our population and hence of our Nation should be kept constantly before us.

As a representative of the rural pattern of life and speaking for the Department of Agriculture, I want to say that we appreciate deeply the opportunity to join with people from the cities and from other Government agencies in undertaking this evaluation of our children's situation. The convening of this Conference under the leadership of the President of the United States is an event of Nation-wide importance. On behalf of agriculture, I extend to you all a hearty greeting and express the confidence that the results of your efforts will be regarded in years to come as of historic importance.

Remarks by Josephine Roche

Chairman, The Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities

In the General Report before us for discussion two sentences seem to me to sum up the objectives which we are discussing and which we intend to realize.

At the first meeting of the Conference on April 26, 1939, President Roosevelt said: "Democracy must inculcate in its children capacities for living and assure opportunities for the fulfillment of those capacities."

Near the end of the report we find: "Secure family life is the foundation of individual happiness and social well-being."

Between these two sentences are pages closely packed with evidence well known to us and very effectively repeated in this report, of the conditions of life, the insecurities, the denials, and the destruction of human values which continue to be the lot of countless American families today.

The report brings this before us in no uncertain terms. It brings us to the brink and it forces us again to face the wide and deep chasm which stretches between the realities of today and what America's democracy at its birth pledged to all its people—equal opportunity to all and special privilege to none.

I think it is very fitting and very fortunate that the conditions which persist today, conditions which this report outlines and conditions which stubbornly go on threateningly in violation of democracy's commitment, are being presented to us in terms of their effect upon childhood and youth; for whatever society as a whole experiences, whatever it is denied or whatever it gains, always is tellingly registered upon us in terms of its results for children and young boys and girls. And today, if these objectives that we are discussing are to be realized, every citizen must be stirred to action and kept in action.

It has been pointed out frequently in the discussions that many of the objectives that we have in mind can be realized through individual effort, through community effort, through cooperation between individuals and communities, through wider information and education. But I think all of us realize that the conditions outlined in this report—these conditions which continue to violate democracy's commitments—are basically Nation-wide economic inequalities, deep-rooted and serious.

They can be overcome and eliminated only as an aroused and determined citizenry prevails upon its government, Federal, State, and local, to take courageous and constructive leadership, to accept its obligation for carrying out the responsibilities of government through conservation of our resources. I see no conflict in these two points of view, because democracy's government is only the people themselves speaking and acting through their self-chosen form of organization. And I think that only as we keep this in mind can we proceed effectively toward the goals that we have outlined. Continuing progress is the birthright of all our citizens today and the birthright of our children who will be the citizens of tomorrow. And only as we keep this very definite responsibility clearly in mind and uppermost in our hearts, can we make sure and swift advance on any of these many fronts of child welfare which we are discussing and acting upon during this Conference.

Discussion ¹

In outlining the procedure for discussion of the General Report by Conference members, the chairman suggested that there should be brief discussion of the report as a whole, its general plan and direction and its general conclusions, before beginning discussion of the detailed sections.

Suggestions were made by several members relating to points which should be emphasized especially and to rewording or expansion of ideas in the General Report.

The suggestion was made by Sanford Bates that the report as presented tended to "make things out worse than they are" and that "in our defense of a democratic system we should not publish and approve statistics which give people across the sea the opportunity to say that democracy is a failure. * * * In this report we should have statistics which will enable us to maintain our conviction that democracy is working and that democracy not only is succeeding materially but is helping to bring a wider culture to our young people today."

At the request of the chairman, Mr. Folks commented upon the types of suggestions which came from the group discussions of the preceding afternoon and upon the general nature of the changes and decisions by the Report Committee as incorporated in the General Report now presented to the Conference for discussion. He said that the most prevalent type of suggestion from the groups consisted of changes in wording without change of substance, or slight rearrangement of the material, and that it was assumed that the Conference would entrust the Report Committee with a certain degree of editorial freedom in completing the revision of the report, without submitting to the Conference questions which do not involve any change in substance. Nothing came from any section, Mr. Folks said, which called for a recommendation or a statement that was contrary to any recommendation or statement contained in the preliminary draft of the report which was sent out to members in advance of this meeting, but there were many modifications and proposed additions.

Mr. Folks stated that the Report Committee devoted much time to consideration of comments by different groups that their respective subjects had not received adequate space in proportion to other subjects. The remedy usually suggested was to incorporate more material from the topical reports into the General Report. This offered real difficulties because the topical reports are to be used only

¹ Dr. Henry F. Helmholtz, a vice chairman of the Conference, presided.

after further detailed study by the Report Committee. Consideration was given to the practicability of putting into the General Report the material which the various sections wished to have included, without throwing the whole report out of harmony with other sections. The Report Committee, in the main, acceded to a considerable degree to requests for insertion of additional material.

In accordance with the procedure which had been agreed upon for discussion, consideration by the Conference of each section of the report began with a brief summary by the executive secretary of the changes made by the Report Committee the preceding evening, as a result of the recommendations of the groups which discussed the topical statements during the preceding afternoon. This was followed by presentation of the range of subject matter of the section under discussion. After general discussion, the Conference took formal action on the changes proposed in each section.

The first topic, *The Child in the Family*, was divided into four sections: *The Family as the Threshold of Democracy*, *Families and Their Incomes*, *Families in Need of Assistance*, and *Families and Their Dwellings*. This topic was presented by Harry L. Lurie, executive director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

HARRY L. LURIE. Ladies and gentlemen, I want first to pay tribute to the general excellence of the Conference report and to the supplementary topical statements. These documents are notable for their clarity of expression and for their moderation. The section on family life and the child is especially pertinent. The problems that are cited are obvious but they are fundamental. And we know that fundamental questions are always the most controversial and the most difficult to define.

What are the important findings of this section?

They are, briefly, that a large proportion of American children live under conditions of poverty and inadequate standards of living; that we have made considerable progress in relieving these conditions, but it is not enough. Extension of Federal support for State and local programs of assistance is imperative. The general relief measures of States and localities need Federal support. Social-insurance programs need to be completed. Work-relief programs for the unemployed extend only to a fraction of the able-bodied jobless. They must be enlarged. To protect the incomes of large sections of our working population we need more adequate and comprehensive minimum-wage standards and legislation to safeguard labor organizations. Beyond that, there is the general need for organizing our economic processes so that our country, rich in re-

sources, can make decent standards of living available to all of its population. A large-scale low-cost housing program is advocated.

As you see, there is nothing novel nor radical about these proposals. In each instance they are merely the next steps to be undertaken in the present program of services along lines that the majority of Americans have fully endorsed.

As the report recognizes, the main question that confronts us is whether we can extend the fundamental principles of democracy to achieve more satisfactory lives for our children. What ways are open to us? What is the outlook for the attainment by public opinion of "greater economic understanding and social insight," as the report suggests?

What is this lag in public understanding that obstructs fulfillment of the program?

We can state the basic question in terms of concrete political issues. That is, in terms of tax problems, fiscal resources available for Government purposes, and the controversial matter of balancing the budget. Extension of social-welfare programs in which we all believe raises all these questions. No one is openly opposed to achieving social welfare, but agreement on these basic economic questions has not been secured. We cannot blink the fact that they remain unsettled political questions.

If those who believe in the reduction of Government expenditures and welfare measures and who favor so-called business policies are sincere, the justification for their program lies in their belief, fallacious as it may be, that by means of conservative economic policies the welfare of our population in the long run can be more effectively secured.

Assuming that this view is correct, may we not reasonably ask why it is necessary to achieve social-welfare aims by indirection? Why not proceed directly to solve our problems of poverty by extending those measures that have demonstrated their utility? It has been proved that public-welfare measures can provide economic assistance, jobs for the unemployed, social security in a more or less satisfactory manner. Whatever limitations there are exist not in the measures themselves but in their inadequacies, their lack of coverage, their low standards. The only valid criticism is that they shift our economic problems into a different sector. That is to say, we exchange our poverty problems for fiscal and tax problems. But why not?

I should like to advance the thesis that we defer experimenting with economic processes until after we have provided for the security of our population. I believe that we shall find that some of the problems that now seem so difficult have solved themselves in the process. We shall have stimulated purchasing power and produc-

tion to meet the needs of the population. We shall have at least found workable expedients to relieve human ills.

This is our theoretical justification for endorsing and defending the very moderate proposals advanced by this report.

Let me also point out that we have gone a considerable way in this direction through the enactment and development of our public-welfare services. We have followed the mandates of the majority and we have had the acquiescence, if not the good will, of other groups.

There has been some redistribution of national income through taxation. In large measure we have paid for our social welfare by borrowing and by increasing Government debt. The pecuniary interest of investors who prefer low-interest-bearing Government securities to alternative risks for capital and savings in private investments has led them into the financing of public welfare. They could not make any better investment in democracy. Why not continue to act vigorously along the same lines?

The end result may be that we shall be facing some difficult questions of Government finance, but at least we shall in the process have preserved the well-being of our children. We can then face with greater freedom the questions of adjusting our American system of agricultural and industrial protection so that it functions within a Nation primarily concerned with the social welfare of all elements of the population.

The cure for poverty is the provision of income through work, insurance, or relief, and not the fanciful illusions of tax reducers, relief manipulators, or addicts of less government in business. Let me repeat again that there is sufficient time to experiment with new economic formulas after we have provided social security.

There is one specific recommendation in the report that we might examine carefully in this discussion, since it can serve as an excellent index to the underlying theories and temper of the report in general.

A large-scale low-cost housing project is suggested. This is a reasonable proposal not only for the improvement of living standards, but, indirectly, for its effect on general economic factors. Large-scale home building for the lowest-income groups would provide an opportunity for Government cooperation, private capital, and private initiative. It is of interest to note that this suggestion does not propose to eliminate private initiative in home construction.

The political questions posed by this and other sections of the report are involved with an important time element. We see totalitarian states and dictatorships establishing ruthless programs because men have lost faith in the democratic process. There are always at hand unprincipled groups or individuals ready to exploit the moral weak-

nesses of a population that has lost faith in its basic institutions. We in this democracy abhor the destruction of human values under these reactionary systems.

In its modest way the Conference report has an alternative to suggest—moderate, simple proposals well within the limits of our economic resources and our political processes. It offers conclusions that are inescapable in any honest survey of the needs of children in our democracy.

Among the points brought out by the discussion from the floor were the desirability of giving further emphasis to the family as the central point in the preparation of children for responsible citizenship in a democracy and the importance of strengthening the family. It was suggested that something should be included in the report in regard to parent education.

Dr. Richard A. Bolt suggested that something should be said about the effects of alcohol on the family from an economic, social, religious, and moral standpoint. The chairman requested Dr. Bolt to prepare a short statement on this subject for presentation later in the day.

There was discussion of the practicability of trying to define, in terms of the psychology of family training, what can be brought into the lives of children through the way in which the family is conducted. It was suggested that emphasis should be given to the quality of leadership which parents should exercise in promoting the security and the physical and mental health of their children but that discussion of theoretical adjustments relating to family life and particular philosophies of experimentation may lead into a field that is not desirable. It was pointed out that "the values inherent in the family are the same values that we are really seeking in a democracy" and that "if we are going to give material security, it is just as essential to teach children habits of industry and thrift as to give them food and shelter."

The motion for adoption by the Conference of the section on The Family as the Threshold of Democracy was put to a vote and carried.

The subject of Families and Their Incomes was introduced by Isador Lubin, Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor.

ISADOR LUBIN. After looking over your committee's report one must come to the conclusion that the drafters gave attention to every possible factor which has a bearing upon the income of the American family. I think they have done a remarkable job in depicting what the standard of living in the American family is and in emphasizing the extent to

which our families do not have sufficient income to meet certain basic requirements of a healthy, developing, decent, constructive life.

I should like to discuss the section of the report which deals with employment and unemployment. I do this deliberately because I feel that a conference of this sort should go on record in more detailed fashion than this report apparently does relative to the problem of employment and its relationship to income. In other words, as I read the unemployment section I get the impression that the job ahead of us is simple, that all that is needed is public works, a works program, and that then everything will be taken care of.

Now, no one will deny that for the immediate future, at least, the volume of unemployment will be large. But, after all, let us bear in mind that unemployment in the United States has always been large—never, of course, of the magnitude of the past 5 or 6 or 7 years. Nevertheless, it has always been great. And unemployment has always been a very important factor in making it impossible for our workers' families to secure the income that they ought to have.

Industry in America has never operated regularly in the sense that year after year it has maintained given levels of unemployment. We have always had marked fluctuations from year to year and cyclically.

As industry is operated in this country and as it is operated throughout the western world, it has never given regular employment to its workers in the sense that from month to month they were regularly on the pay roll.

Our system of private enterprise and the competitive system have led to hundreds of thousands of bankruptcies in our industrial order. These have caused unemployment.

In any growing society, particularly a society that has been growing as fast as ours in the scientific field, technology has played a tremendously important part and probably will continue to do so. This also brings unemployment.

I think one thing that this report says—that there has been a gratifying improvement in business employment—is something that we may all be delighted with. And I think that the problem we have to face is how far industry will absorb those people who will be available for work during the next few years. And please note that I did not say "unemployed"; I said "those who will be available for work."

I think we ought to make a very definite distinction between those who are unemployed and those who are available for work. The man who works in a cotton mill that is shut down for inventory, or that is shut down for repairs, or that is shut down because of a seasonal lack of orders is not available for work in the sense that if somebody came along and offered him a job he would take it.

He is waiting for and expects the mill in which he has been working to reopen. In fact, if he took a new job when the mill shuts down seasonally he would not be available when the mill had orders and could offer employment to its workers. That is one of the prices we pay for a system of free enterprise such as ours.

Furthermore, one of the things that we should mention in this report is the place that unemployment insurance can be made to play in providing for the people who, although unemployed, are not available for jobs. I think also that something might well be said about either extending the period of unemployment compensation or increasing the benefits. Those who have studied the problem tell me this can be done without increasing the premium rates or the tax rates for unemployment insurance.

Again, bear in mind that day after day something in excess of a half-million people in this country are not available for work, although employed, because of illness. I think they should be taken into consideration in trying to find means for increasing the income of the American wage earner's family.

I think it is fair to say that once we have reached the stage where 500,001 new people are employed each year the number of unemployed will decrease faster than employment rises.

Let me give you a concrete illustration. There are hundreds of thousands of families in this country in which two or three persons are today unemployed and willing to take jobs. But if the father could get a job at a fairly good rate of wages those persons would automatically disappear from the ranks of the unemployed in the sense that the youngsters would go back to school. The reason is obvious. The father could afford to keep them in school, or the mother would cease seeking employment because of the fact that there were other sources of income for the family.

Industry must absorb 500,000 new persons each year if the number of unemployed is not to rise, that number being the approximate net addition to the working population resulting from youngsters becoming of working age. Beyond that point, with a rapidly increasing employment roll, I think it is fair to assume that the rate of decline in employment would be faster than the rate of increase in employment.

Again, there are many people in this country who are unemployed but not available for work because of the fact that we have failed in our job of training our people in a way which would make it possible for them to take the types of jobs that become available. That becomes very important in a few industries in the United States, in which because of prevailing circumstances it is difficult to

obtain properly trained people. Certain types of skill are not existent in sufficient volume to meet the needs of our industries.

Industry has failed in its job because it did not want to undertake the cost of training people for future needs. The Government has failed in the job, and the school systems have failed in the job in the sense that they have not assumed that responsibility. There are various reasons for the failure to assume that responsibility. But I do not wish to go into them at the present moment.

Frankly, I think that the attention of the American public should be called to the fact that public works in itself will not solve the problem of unemployment, but that public works plus A, plus B, plus C, plus D, must all be used if we are to create a situation in this country in which we will at least have the minimum amount of unemployment consistent with the way industry operates under our system of free enterprise.

I think the report should specifically tie up the various factors which should be emphasized in attacking the problem—public works, changes in the unemployment-insurance system, the extension of old-age annuities, thereby making it possible for people to retire from industry at an earlier age, and child-labor legislation—this being a child-labor conference. The Federal Government, so far as interstate industries are concerned, has limited the age of employment to 16; but there are still many States which permit the employment of children of much younger ages. The whole problem of vacations with pay has a way of tiding over seasonal unemployment and is very much worth while considering. We have only made a beginning on it in this country. At Geneva the problem has been discussed very fully at the International Labor Organization. There is no reason why the practice of giving people vacations with pay at periods when industry cannot give them full employment should not be emphasized.

I think the whole question of technology and its effects should also be mentioned in discussing the income of the American family. Some plants in this country have developed a system of dismissal wages. When a new machine is put in they try to time the installation of the machine so that nobody will lose his job. In some instances where people may lose their jobs a very large dismissal wage, sufficient to tide them over a period of time, has been put into effect. But those instances are rare. There is no reason why that burden should not be borne in part by the employer because of the lower cost of production by the machine, in part by the stockholders, and even in part, I think, by the consumers.

Another thing that I think might be worth while mentioning in the report is the part that industry itself can play in eliminating

so-called seasonal changes in employment. I suppose one would be looked upon as terribly orthodox and behind the times in raising once again the question that we discussed in 1926, 1927, and 1928: What can we do within a given year to regularize the employment of the workers within the individual plant? We seem to have forgotten the minor segments of the picture because of the fact that the larger problem has been confronting us.

Finally, I should like to say one thing—and I am quite sure my colleague on the T. N. E. C., Mr. Leon Henderson, will agree with me: So far as the economic system is concerned “there is still a lot of life in the old gal.”

I should not like to see this Conference give the impression to outsiders that we are in a situation in which the policy of despair predominates.

There is a very big job still to be done in the United States, even if we are to get the output of industry up to the point where the per capita output is equal to what it was in the last decade.

We ended the year 1938 with 9½ billion dollars less housing in existence in this country than 10 years ago. Deterioration, fire, and other elements have been playing their part. There is a terribly big job to do in the housing field.

Our railroad system is still to be adjusted to modern, high-speed transportation. There are still hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of farmers who are quite a distance away from fairly good roads. There are dozens of fields that are still untouched in this country, not in terms of new industries but in modernizing our standards of living and our methods of doing things.

I feel very definitely that although there may be a fairly large problem of unemployment which must be met and provided for and anticipated by the Government, the problem itself is not one that is not solvable. The job is here to be done. The question is how we can provide the stimuli for getting the job done of seeing that so many of our people will not remain unemployed.

Among the points brought out in the discussion were the following: “We must expect private enterprise to fluctuate because it is based on selfish interests and the profit to be derived. If we cannot look for stability and dependability of employment as it is developed in our public enterprises, where can we look for the steadying factor in employment?” It was stated that this point would be reconsidered by the Report Committee.

“We should recognize that no matter what happens we are still going to have the problem of many unemployed young people, and

we are not going to absorb them in private industry no matter how good business becomes. At the present time there are many natural resources which can be developed without competition with private industry; there are many services which are not being given and which can be developed by governmental agencies."

Dr. Edwin E. Witte, chairman, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin, commented on the section relating to families and their incomes.

EDWIN E. WITTE. As chairman of the Conference group dealing with economic resources of families and communities I want to call attention to this section of the report. There are two committees that are very closely related, the group dealing with economic resources of families and communities and the one dealing with economic aid to families. A great many of the suggestions that have been made are dealt with in the report on economic aid and very appropriately belong there. A great many more are discussed in the topical report on economic resources.

I question whether we can give adequate treatment to the big problem of unemployment. Any method by which we might be able to cope with that problem would take the entire 50 pages, which Chairman Folks has suggested as about the limit of what the General Report should be. Consequently, in the 2 or 3 pages which are at our disposal for this portion of the report, very little more can be done than to state the problem.

The group that met yesterday afternoon had the same feeling which was expressed here today by nearly all the speakers, if not all of them; first, the feeling that Dr. Lubin so well expressed, that we in this democracy, at the zero hour of democracy in the world, do not need to feel very apologetic, even at this time, when our record of the past 10 years is one of great trouble. I think the great majority of us in this audience will agree that the United States has done as well as or better than any of the totalitarian countries.

The other feeling of our group was that only the Government's part was mentioned in the report. There was no mention whatsoever of private employment and the responsibility of private industry. Yet in the economic system under which we live the great majority of the people obviously must find their employment in private industry. Consequently, we sent a suggestion to the committee, and we think the committee has incorporated a statement to the effect that this problem is one which must be tackled by the Government and by industry, that everything cannot be done through a works program.

In stressing public works, as the original report did, we had in mind that there is probably great danger that we may lose the works program, that we do need to emphasize that there are millions of Americans who will have no work in the years to come unless it is provided through a works program.

And, at the same time, we felt that it is very necessary to emphasize the responsibility of business and the fact that the Government alone cannot solve this problem of unemployment without the cooperation of business, and that we must have in mind these measures for improving conditions in private employment and in making it possible for private employment to function as we all want it to function.

Accordingly, Madam Chairman, I make the motion on behalf of our group that this part of the report be adopted, with such changes as the Report Committee may deem necessary, to make mention of other methods besides public works through which government may help in this great problem of unemployment, and to stress further, if the committee deems it necessary, the responsibility of industry and measures for helping industry to assume that responsibility.

The section on Families and Their Incomes was adopted by the Conference.

Conditions resulting from absence of Federal grants-in-aid for direct relief, the inadequacy of the home-relief program in many places throughout the country, and the difficulties which result from curtailment of the W. P. A. program were stressed in the discussion on Families in Need of Assistance. The discussion included comments in regard to the need for maintaining the Federal works program, administration of "categorical" assistance, and related problems, and the problem of increase and extension of benefits under unemployment compensation.

The following extended comments were made:

M^{sr}. JOHN O'GRADY, secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities. The danger that we face at the present time is that of losing our works program or having it greatly reduced. I think that is one of the most immediate and concrete issues with which we are faced; that is, there is a danger that this works program may be reduced out of all proportion to the need therefor. This is a realistic problem for social workers, if they are really interested, as is claimed in these reports, in providing a continuing works program on a Federal basis.

I am in disagreement with regard to the recommendation on grants-in-aid for relief. This is not an issue at the present time.

The issue is whether we are going to have a works program on a Federal basis or whether we are going to turn the whole thing back to the States. That is the practical issue before the people.

If we are interested in a constructive American program, the thing for us to do is to work on the practical issues that are before us. I think the practical issues are, first, to hold our works program and develop it this winter. We need to bring all of the forces to bear upon the Congress that we can in order to retain the works program and to keep it up to the standards that should be maintained in order that we may be able to provide employment. The works program has not been everything that it should be, but we can make it do the things that it should do. We will never do that by holding out the cheaper methods, by lending comfort to those who are really opposed to a works program.

Therefore, I disagree. And, if I am just a minority of one, I want to cast my vote against this recommendation that we should have grants-in-aid for Federal relief. We would better make this grants-in-aid system work in the categories before we begin to extend it to the whole field. I am not so sure about the desirability of going into any more grants-in-aid. We may find some other way out of it through an extended works program. I am not so sure, when I see what has been happening in hundreds of counties in the past 2 years, that the grants-in-aid system is anything else at the present time than a cheaper method of taking care of our people.

I think the second practical problem with which we are faced is the improvement of the standards and the extension of aid under the category forms of aid, under aid to dependent children, and under old-age assistance. These are unsolved problems. We need a sliding scale in grants-in-aid.

WILLIAM HODSON, commissioner of public welfare of the City of New York. May I move the adoption of this section of the report on behalf of the committee? And may I say just a word with respect to the deliberations of the committee?

May I make as clear as it is possible for me to do, without reservation and without equivocation of any kind, that the section which discussed this report, all its members and its chairman, believe fully and completely in the W. P. A. program, and that nothing in this recommendation by word or deed or implication was intended to limit or to restrict or to change in the slightest measure, except hopefully upward and with more appropriations, the W. P. A. program in the United States of America.

If I have not made that clear I have completely failed my group. They are insisting that the present W. P. A. program be continued.

They are not suggesting any changes, in terms of allocation or otherwise to the States, with respect to the W. P. A. program, and they hopefully look forward to the time when the W. P. A. program may be expanded to include all of the employables who are now on relief.

And, Madam Chairman, as evidence of the intention of the group to leave no possible doubt on this question, you will observe that the section as read provides, first of all, for a statement with respect to the W. P. A. and then concludes with the recommendation that supplementary thereto and in addition thereto there should be grants-in-aid for direct relief.

Now, may I come more directly to the practical question which has been stated by Dr. O'Grady.

Is it practical to say that because you believe the Federal Government should adopt an additional responsibility you are thereby arguing that it should give up a responsibility which it has already accepted and assumed in a very substantial measure?

Let us bear in mind what the situation in this country is where there are not grants-in-aid for direct relief. Do I have to call your attention to certain States and to certain cities? I will not mention them here, but I suppose the members of this group are perfectly aware of the inadequacy of the home-relief program in the United States. And I think the members of this group are aware of the fact that in many places throughout the country where there have been grants-in-aid for the categorical programs the same inadequacies do not exist.

May I call attention to the fact that, as I understand it, the present appropriation for the W. P. A. means a cut of at least one-third in the present allocation of funds to the States throughout the country?

While we are talking about practical considerations let us face that fact and let us face those consequences, which are that when there is a cut in the W. P. A. program and when Congress has reduced its appropriations and effected an economy program, who takes the backwash? The States and the localities. Do they get reimbursement? No.

Would Congress be equally prepared to reduce the W. P. A. appropriations if at the same time it had to assume responsibility for those persons who are dropped from the W. P. A. and who are picked up by the local relief authorities and become a charge upon the States and the localities?

I think I express the opinion of the group over which I presided when I say to you that in their belief there is no justification whatsoever for saying that the Federal Government will participate with the States and localities on old-age pensions, on blind relief, and so forth; that it will assume responsibility for W. P. A.; but that when it comes to direct relief there is some strange, sinister bar.

I do not speak for the social workers here today, but I am proud to be one of their members. I think the social workers of this country are professionally concerned about the needs of the unemployed and of the destitute. I believe the social workers of this country are heart and soul behind the W. P. A. program. They do not want us to take any action which will in any wise reduce or harmfully affect the existing program of W. P. A. They would like to see that program continued.

Now, may I say that it becomes an exceedingly difficult thing for the States and the localities to object to relief expenditures when they have those tremendous unknown factors in the picture which is W. P. A., with no possibility that the Federal Government will share in the results of the economy program?

How can the localities object to larger relief expenditures when thousands and hundreds of thousands are dropped by reason of Congressional action to the effect that anyone on W. P. A. for 18 months can no longer be carried on that program?

If we here in this Conference are going to adopt principles of action which look toward a stabilized program with some measure of planning, with an opportunity for all levels of government to plan their programs in advance and to budget their expenditures in advance, I think it is fair to say that the unknown and uncertain factors in the picture must be eliminated as rapidly as possible; and one way to do that is to agree that a program should be adopted which includes an over-all participation by the Federal Government in all forms of public assistance.

As to the point raised by Dr. O'Grady with respect to the question of reimbursement to the localities based upon the needs of the States rather than upon some formula which treats all States equally, I want to say that I should like to have an opportunity to discuss that phase of the report further with the Report Committee along the lines suggested by Dr. O'Grady.

The motion for adoption of the section on Families in Need of Assistance was put to a vote and carried.

It was reported that problems relating to migrants and transients were touched upon by several discussion groups. A statement was presented to the Report Committee by Dr. Ellen C. Potter, proposing that the report be strengthened with reference to this subject and making a specific recommendation. The Report Committee, after carefully considering all phases of the problem and the suggestions that had been received, decided to develop a separate section dealing with the problems of migrant families and their children.

The committee came to this conclusion because it recognized that the problems of migrant families cut across all subjects dealt with in the report, and it therefore asked authority of the Conference to insert a section on Children in Migrant Families and to incorporate in it a definite recommendation that appropriate agencies of the Federal Government undertake to study the problem further and to develop and carry out plans for meeting it.

The section on Families and Their Dwellings was adopted without detailed discussion.

The chairman stated that for purposes of discussion Religion in the Lives of Children, Schools, Leisure-Time Services, and Libraries were included in one general division. Discussion was introduced by Helen Hall, director, Henry Street Settlement.

HELEN HALL. I should like to start by pointing out what I should particularly commend in the educational section of the report.

1. Units of local school attendance and administration should be enlarged wherever necessary in order to broaden the base of financial support and to make possible a modern well-equipped school for every child at a reasonable per capita cost.

2. Substantial financial assistance should be granted by every State to its local school systems for the purpose of equalizing tax burdens and reducing educational inequalities.

3. An extended program of Federal financial assistance to the States should be adopted in order to reduce inequalities in educational opportunity among States.

This seems enormously significant to all of us. It makes me think of a visit that I made accidentally to a little place not far from Washington a few years ago, where there was a good deal of excitement because the school for the first time in 2 years had opened and was going to be kept open for 3 months. Previously it had never been open for more than 3 weeks.

I think that each child there was obviously in need of some kind of physical care. The teacher was very much excited because of the fact that she had the children for so long a time. Some of the children had walked 3 miles over the mountains in order to get there.

I wrote to Miss Lenroot and asked her if she would look into the situation. Miss Lenroot wrote to the State Board of Education and the board answered that the situation existed because that section of the country was too poor to afford better schooling. So it drove home to me the significance of those first three sections of the report.

Leisure time—or free time or voluntary time—is enormously significant in the education and development of the child. Our thought is that the development of constructive use of leisure time should be recognized as a public responsibility. We feel that is a step forward. Steps should be taken in a community by public and private agencies to provide local recreational facilities and services and to plan systematically to meet the present inadequacy. After all, although there is not enough planning for education and health, there is infinitely less community planning for the leisure time of our children. I think that it is of great importance to have this Conference go on record as stating that such planning is significant and necessary.

In the religious section I should like to see more stress laid on example as well as on precept. It seems to me the young people of today are translating “I am not my brother’s keeper” into their social concepts. I know when anyone mentions what the churches are doing it is with the greatest satisfaction that I am able to point to men like Bishop McConnell and Rabbi Wise and other leaders in the formation of social action, who typify the ventures that the churches have before them.

It seems to me that libraries should be emphasized, because with the radio coming into the home reading will be a lost art in 20 years unless books are brought to the rural sections.

It was reported that the group which dealt with Religion in the Lives of Children urged the Report Committee to consider putting into the General Report the recommendations of the topical report as revised by the group, and the Report Committee recommended that this should be done. The chairman of the Conference commented upon the fact that “this is the first time in the conferences on children in the United States, beginning in 1909, that the Conference has considered religion as a part of children’s lives” and that “whatever may have been implied in the purposes and motives of individuals and of groups and associations in their willingness to serve the interests of children has never been expressed as part of a religious conception.”

Rabbi Edward L. Israel, of the Har Sinai Congregation, Baltimore, Md., chairman of the discussion group on Religion and Children in a Democracy, moved the adoption of this section as submitted by the Report Committee.

Rabbi EDWARD L. ISRAEL. I hesitate to make any comments on the report because in one of the most debatable sections of the report yesterday everything was all right until one of us decided to make a comment, and then that which we thought was perfectly

clear from a reading of the report became decidedly obscure. That is the way theologians work, it seems. Therefore, I hesitate to inject dense and dark clouds into this discussion by any comment.

However, I will say this, that I think this is rather historical, inasmuch as it is the first time that religion has been faced as a factor, in the same detail, of the cultural equipment of man in a democracy.

Nevertheless, there were many things on which we had to make certain compromises. Therefore, we did not commit ourselves to theological expressions, which would have opened up the subjects to discussion, and we did not go as far as we should like to have gone along certain lines because, in the first place, we realized that we judged the situation from a rather highly specialized point of view.

First of all, if we have given any impression that religion exists in the minds of any of us for the sake of democracy, let that be obliterated. I think the topical portion of the report brings out clearly that religion is an attitude of man, regardless of the type of government under which he lives.

Nevertheless, it is our contention that religion has always dealt primarily with the problem of how the individual can express himself as an individual and that the fundamental problem in democracy today is how, with the necessity of the development of governmental functions, we can have those functions of a cooperative society expressed, at the same time preserving the individual values.

Therefore, today, religion becomes uniquely a force in the preservation of democracy. That was our contention, Madam Chairman, and that was the spirit of the report. And in this spirit I move its adoption.

Points brought out in the discussion included the desirability of mentioning specifically the responsibility of the home, as well as the church and other social organizations, for the religious growth of older children and youth; and the desirability of including in the topical report some material which could not be dealt with adequately in the General Report.

The section of the report on **Religion in the Lives of Children** was adopted by the Conference.

Afternoon Session—January 19

Discussion of and Action on the General Report ¹

The first section taken up for consideration was Educational Services. The executive secretary outlined the action taken by the Report Committee on the recommendations submitted by the discussion group on this subject, which pertained especially to the advisability of transposing from the topical report into the General Report certain statements which were phrased differently in the two reports.

Dr. William G. Carr made the following statement: "The recommendations refer to the larger unity of educational administration, to State aid for lessening differences in educational opportunity within States, and to Federal funds to lessen unavoidable differences in educational opportunities among States. Given those three recommendations, it is probable that the other recommendations can be put into effect at an accelerated pace. Lacking those three recommendations, we must expect a considerable amount of retardation in putting into effect the other recommendations."

Suggestions were made that the report should include recommendations for "provision of adequate instruction in safety education for every child" and "some reference to specialized vocational training in preparental education" and that there should be a definite recommendation concerning the treatment of defective eyesight, a factor affecting scholarship.

The comment was made "that the health program in most of our schools has been the least effective of any of the health programs put on in the community," and that "we still have large numbers of children with defective vision, defective hearing, and at the present moment children in the lower strata of nutrition, about which nothing has been done." It was suggested that there should be a specific statement regarding the responsibility of the school to see that improvement in this situation is effected, either by the school authorities themselves or by their making possible through the school resources the clinical and nutritional health services that should be available.

The statement was made by Alice V. Keliher, chairman of the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association, that "we have a tendency to consolidate schools all over the

¹ Dr. Henry F. Helmholtz, a vice chairman of the Conference, presided.

country. Consolidation is neither good nor bad. Consolidation may be good for the children, the parents, and the community. It is bad where it removes children from their communities and makes it impossible for the kind of community education that has been described to go on." It was urged that "the proposed program should not be accepted without differentiating between attendance units, tax units, and the administrative unit." The statement was made that "many teachers in the country have great difficulty making effective contacts with homes, knowing the parents, taking care of health. Children eat cold, soggy lunches, and they go to school 15 miles by unsafe busses." The suggestion was made that the larger units should be recommended where larger units are indicated, but that this must not be done indiscriminately.

The Conference voted to adopt the section of the report on Schools.

It was reported that no changes were suggested with reference to the section on Libraries, except for one statement which needed clarification. Ralph Munn, director of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, speaking for libraries, suggested that the recommendation regarding provision for special collections and personnel to serve children should not be limited to "libraries in larger cities"; even the very smallest of libraries should have special collections and personnel for children. He suggested also the desirability of adding a recommendation that provision should be made for research in library service to youth, to serve as a basis for determining policies and programs.

The question was raised as to the reason for leaving out museums—"they play a large part in the cultural life of the Nation, and certainly the modern museum that takes its branches into the poorest districts does a grand job in education." This question was left for consideration by the Report Committee.

The Conference voted to accept the section on Libraries.

Presentation of the changes recommended by the Report Committee in the preliminary draft of the report on Child Labor and Youth Employment was followed by a statement by Anne S. Davis, assistant chief of the Division of Women's and Children's Employment of the Illinois State Department of Labor.

ANNE S. DAVIS. I just want to emphasize, very briefly, the significance of the report on child labor and youth needs.

Twenty years ago, when the second White House Conference was held, the recommendations relating to child labor presented for adoption were essentially the same as the recommendations that are being

presented here today. They provided for a 16-year age minimum for children entering full-time employment. As this report points out, only 12 States today have a 16-year age minimum for full-time employment.

Gains have been made during the past 20 years in reducing child labor in this country, especially in the mills and factories and the mines, due in part to legislative enactment, both State and Federal, to widespread unemployment, to the improved school programs in many parts of the country, and to technological changes in industry. But after we have made a recital of these gains and the way in which child labor has been reduced, we are confronted with the fact that child labor still exists and that there is still a child-labor problem.

There are many people in this country who believe that child labor is no longer a problem and many have the erroneous idea that the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 has eliminated child labor. Yet it has been estimated that it has affected only 20 percent of the children under 16 who were employed when the act became effective, and it applies, as you know, only to those industries which ship goods across State lines. However, it does give the Children's Bureau power to raise the minimum age to 18 for industries which are considered hazardous.

It is estimated that there are between 500,000 and 1,000,000 children who are still employed in this country. The exact figures cannot be given until the next census is completed, but thousands are employed in commercialized agriculture unregulated by State laws. Thousands more are employed in street trades, and there are only 20 States that have laws regulating the employment of children in street trades and in the sale and distribution of newspapers.

Then there are many thousands in occupations that are intrastate in character. They are likely to be employed in offices, stores, garages, filling stations, and all the service industries, and these occupations may be just as detrimental to their health, to their physical development, and to their education as work in factories.

Great inequalities still exist in the various States in the protection offered these children as to standards of minimum age for entering employment, as to hours of work, as to night work, and as to prohibition of work in hazardous occupations.

There are still at least 10 States in 1940 that permit children, no matter how young, to work in nonmanufacturing occupations, though some of these States do set a minimum of 14 for full-time employment. There are 25 States that permit young persons between 16 and 18 years of age, regardless of their immaturity, to enter hazardous occupations. Yet statistics have shown that the accident rate for this age group is very high.

The children under 16 who are now employed in intrastate industries need protection just as much as children who are engaged in industries which ship goods across State lines. In a democracy all children should be given equal opportunity and protection. Initial responsibility for legal regulation lies in the States but Federal action is a requisite in order to provide minimum standards below which no State may fall.

The minimum standards proposed are not radical. They have been generally accepted as minimum in protective legislation for a number of years. Their adoption would mean that if the children are kept in school until the age of 16, the jobs now occupied by these children may go to the youth over that age who are not in school and who are not at work.

The great problem today is to find a way of putting to work the nearly 4 million youth under 25 years of age who are now unemployed and who constitute one-third of the total number of unemployed in this country. The youth are getting into idle habits. Their ambitions are being destroyed because they see no opportunity ahead. Their situation is so acute at this time that major attention should be given to national planning and Federal financing to provide work opportunities for the millions of youth now unemployed.

The Chairman stated that in view of the close relationship of protection against child labor and "youth and their needs" the two sections would be considered together. Joseph Cadden, executive secretary, American Youth Congress, made a statement in regard to the programs of the C. C. C. and the N. Y. A.

JOSEPH CADDEN. Although at the present time it is possible that 300,000 young people could be enrolled in the C. C. C., the funds which have been appropriated by Congress are not sufficient to allow such a large enrollment; there has been a suggestion by the President that the enrollment be further cut during the next fiscal year. I should also like to point out that although we say that only one-fourth of the young persons out of school and out of work are being aided by these constructive efforts, actually the figure is about one-tenth and not one-fourth.

In addition, I think it would be important to mention here that 300,000 are being given aid by the W. P. A. Of course, this probably will not be true during the next fiscal year if the cut in the budget which has been proposed by the President goes through, because the young people on W. P. A. will be among the first to be cut off.

I think that we must specifically say that, recognizing the value of the N. Y. A. and the inadequacy of its current budget with which it reaches only 1 out of 10 unemployed and out-of-school young people,

Congress should at least double the appropriation for the next fiscal year.

The N. Y. A. is for young people from relief families. A very small percentage of nonrelief young people are being helped by the N. Y. A., and it has now become very difficult for the millions, literally millions, of young people who are not from relief families to find anywhere to fit into the Federal program of youth aid. It seems that it is time for someone to take leadership in the fields of social service, health, education, recreation, in fields where there will be thousands of opportunities for young people if they are given the training when the Federal Government is able to expand its services as is recommended in other sections of this report.

Mrs. Dorothy J. Bellanca, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, called attention to the omission in the report of mention of the part that organized labor has played in helping to eliminate child labor. She said: "This is not a legislative body; this is not a body that can really enforce. It is a body that is recommending, perhaps for the next 10 years, and if we cannot go far enough to recommend the complete elimination of child labor during school periods, I think we have failed in our efforts. I appeal to this Conference to adopt this recommendation eliminating child labor during school periods."

In answer to a question as to the desirability of setting a minimum age of 16 "for all employment during school hours or at any time in manufacturing or mining occupations" but permitting the minimum age of 14 for limited periods after school hours and during vacations, Mrs. Bellanca replied: "I am opposed to any exception for the child under 16 to work even after school, taking into consideration that we have half a million children under the age of 16 who leave school and seek employment and also taking into consideration that we have 4 million youth unemployed who are seeking jobs and cannot get them."

It was moved and seconded to eliminate all exceptions and make a flat minimum age of 16 years for all employment inside or outside school hours. This motion was voted down.

It was suggested that there should be legislation which would make it compulsory for children under 18 years of age either to be in school or at work or in some kind of directed project. Discussion brought out the fact that the Report Committee felt that it was not wise to extend the period of compulsory school attendance to 18, particularly in view of the fact that a later recommendation on youth employment calls for the provision of public work opportunities for all youth not in school who cannot obtain employment. Some members of the committee thought that there were many children who would not benefit

by any school programs available to them or that could be made available to them within the reasonably near future and that the existing programs of education were not adapted to their needs and they would be better off at work. It was their hope that the public would accept responsibility for seeing that work was available to all these young people. It was pointed out that it was perhaps unrealistic to think that work could be made available to every young person who would not have voluntarily remained in school, but in reply it was reiterated that it would not be wise to require all between 16 and 18 to attend the ordinary schools.

In view of all the problems and difficulties, it was decided that the best that the Report Committee could do was to recommend to the Conference that there should be expression of the obligation of the community to provide schooling, but that the phrase relating to compulsory attendance should be omitted.

After some discussion it was suggested that in the recommendation that Federal, State, and local governments should provide work projects for youth over 16, not in school, who cannot obtain employment, a recommendation should be included that the N. Y. A. and the C. C. C. be continued and extended.

An amendment to the recommendations was proposed, declaring in favor of the immediate passage of the proposed child-labor amendment to the Constitution. It was reported that the topical statement on Child Labor and Youth Employment includes the following: "Ratification of the proposed child-labor amendment by the eight States whose action is still required to make it a part of the Constitution should be completed in order to provide protection for children employed in intrastate industries as well as those in interstate industries now covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act." A motion to include in the General Report a recommendation favoring the immediate completion of the ratification of the child-labor amendment was put to a vote after some further discussion. The Conference voted in favor of the motion.

Emphasis was given to the importance of a tie-up between the public machinery of the employment service and the schools in the broad area of guidance and placement, so that cooperative arrangements rather than competitive efforts might be encouraged in this field.

It was voted to accept the sections on Child Labor and Youth Employment.

In behalf of the Report Committee, Grace L. Coyle, director of the group-work course, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, said that the Report Committee incorporated into

the General Report a statement suggested by the discussion group which gave a more adequate interpretation of the development of the use of free time. The committee felt that the emphasis on play and recreation alone did not adequately represent the possibilities of learning which come, not only through what is recognized by the child as play and recreation, but also through a great deal of informal education that goes on voluntarily in leisure-time groups. The committee agreed also that the report needed additional emphasis in regard to the relation between public and private agencies, with special recognition of the place of the private agency in this field. It was also decided that consideration be given to the dominant place of the new forms of entertainment industry, particularly the radio and the movies and their effect upon children; those interested in children should have more part in the development of programs which are influential in the development of child life.

Adoption of this section was voted.

Horton Casparis, M. D., professor of pediatrics, School of Medicine, Vanderbilt University, opened the discussion on Health and Medical Care for Children.

HORTON CASPARIS. There is one thing that I should like to emphasize in this health section that I do not believe comes out quite so well as it should, and that is the fact that there have been tremendous advances in the promotion and restoration of the health of children. I do think it should be emphasized that much has been accomplished.

Now, that does not mean that we do not have to go further, a great deal further. I happen to come from the starving South, and we did not know we were starving until someone called our attention to it. That simply means that people have to be taught to realize what condition they are in.

In my work with individual children in the groups with which we are concerned, I find that the problem is not merely a matter of having better wages, more income, for these people. It is largely a matter also of teaching them the components of good health, of welfare, and of religion.

As I say, we did not know we were starving until somebody told us. A lot of the people that we deal with do not know, actually, what good health is until they are taught the components of good health and are shown by demonstration that things can be better than they ever thought. Until they realize what good health is they are not going to have an appreciation of better health, and if they do not appreciate it I do not believe we can force it on them.

We can do a lot of spraying from above and get them to absorb some health out of this sprayed atmosphere; but on the other hand it seems to me that health and appreciation of it have to be grafted into people through education, and that the most effective method of education in the promotion of health and in the restoration of health is demonstration. That seems to be the way they learn to appreciate and learn to tell others about what good health is. I might say that there is one place where there is no unemployment and that is in the medical and nursing profession, among people well qualified to carry on this work. There is a marked scarcity of well-qualified people, capable of demonstrating modern methods of promoting health and restoring health.

The health of people is not going to be any better than they want it to be. They are going to want it only through being shown the value of it. The health care that people get is not going to be any better than the quality of the personnel that gives it. That brings me to two points of emphasis in the health section—which, by the way, I think has been done extraordinarily well and thoughtfully—and one of them is that we need more knowledge.

As I said a while ago, we need to do research, not only to accumulate basic knowledge but also to find the methods of using and disseminating this knowledge. And we need more qualified personnel to act upon this knowledge and spread it among the people.

One of our greatest defects in health care today is not lack of knowledge but lack of use of available knowledge, and that has to come through trained personnel if we expect to get anywhere.

Now there is another point that I wish to emphasize. I think health is more or less a voluntary matter. It has to be wanted in connection with assistance through other measures. I do not deny that assistance is needed, but it has to be on a voluntary basis; the health of people cannot be any better than they want it to be, and they cannot get any more out of life than they put into life. In the broad sense we are all children in a democracy, and adults have to see that, because the children are going to get their ideas from the people who teach them, whether it is in the home or by the medical groups involved.

The discussion included the following points: Instead of giving an estimate of the number of preventable maternal deaths, it would be better to say that "a considerable portion of these maternal deaths are preventable." It would be desirable to place emphasis upon growth and development, so that the concept of health will be more dynamic. It might be opportune to include in the report some reference to instruction in parenthood, not only for women but also for men. It

was said that "the report recognizes that there are certain deficiencies and wants them remedied as they can be remedied, and that means that we have to help as individuals and in our existing groups, as well as help by government."

The section on Health and Medical Care for Children was adopted by the Conference.

It was reported that very few changes had been suggested in the draft of the section on Social Services for Children. Material on settlement laws and on proper care of migrants cut across all categories of help, and the Report Committee, therefore, decided to set up a separate section of the report to show how the migrant problem cuts across all other sections, instead of treating it under social services only.

It was pointed out that it was necessary to condense the treatment of social services into very small space and that, therefore, the question of juvenile courts and delinquent children had to be dealt with in one paragraph.

It was pointed out that the last White House Conference issued a volume on the delinquent child which is still germane and valuable and that a great many of its recommendations have not yet been carried out. It was suggested that additional material from the topical statement on the subject of the juvenile court and the treatment of delinquency should be taken over into the General Report and that more detail should be given in the General Report regarding social services in connection with court action.

The Conference adopted the report on Social Services for Children.

Changes which had been made in the section on Children in Minority Groups in the preliminary draft of the General Report were discussed.

The discussion brought out the importance of measures taken by the school and the community to give recognition to the valuable contributions to American life made by the various nationality groups. It was said that "the problem of the second-generation child is partly due to the fact that he is often made to feel ashamed of his parents and of his cultural or racial group." Emphasis was placed upon the desirability of positive statements regarding treatment of racial minorities.

This section of the report was adopted.

No changes were suggested by the Report Committee in the section on Public Financing and Administration. It was stated that this sec-

tion had been discussed with people in public administration. This part of the report was adopted by the Conference.

Richard A. Bolt, M. D., director, Cleveland Child Health Association, made a motion with regard to inclusion in the report of a statement on the effects of alcohol: "Alcohol, taken in its various forms, is recognized as a potential as well as actual danger to the integrity of the home, in its social, economic, and moral aspects, as well as to health. Its social uses by adolescents is likely to fix habits which disrupt family life." The motion was seconded by James Hoge Ricks, judge of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Richmond, Va., who made a statement including the following: "In the work in the juvenile and domestic-relations court, I find the use of intoxicants seriously affects the life of the child in many of its phases. This is one of the most serious problems of family life. The excessive use of intoxicants by parents causes dire poverty in the home, physical neglect of the children, and emotional and nervous disorders in them. It is not solely economic. The drinking man may work regularly at good wages but drink heavily over the week-end. * * * I think we should emphasize the obligation of the State to give our children a continuous program of education as to the harmful effects of alcohol, and that the church should include such instruction periodically in its Sunday-school program."

The observation was made that we should "talk in terms of temperance and restraint and excessive use of these things." It was suggested that "parent education will take up this matter without loading the general program of this Conference with the minutiae of detailed programs." Other comments were as follows: "People who are interested in parent education are giving thoughtful attention to this program; it will appear in the parent-education programs that will grow out of this Conference all over the country." "I understand fully the idea of temperance in life, but alcohol and temperance do not go together." "Many accidents that occur on our public highways are due to this one feature. * * * This Conference should go on record as recognizing that alcohol is a danger in the family, and if certain associations are laying stress upon the importance of this element in their programs this should be mentioned in the report of the Conference."

It was moved that the subject be referred to the Report Committee for consideration. This motion was carried.

The section of the report on Call to Action was adopted by the Conference.

The motion was made and seconded that the Conference adopt the report, as amended, as a whole, subject to editorial changes by the Report Committee, and that the report be published as the General Report of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy.

Sanford Bates, executive director, Boys' Clubs of America, Inc., returned to the subject which he had introduced earlier in the session, and made the following motion: "It is the sense of the meeting that the report be amended by the insertion at appropriate places of statements which will record the progress and the eminence of the American, culturally, socially, educationally, and materially, in order that critics of our system may have correct information, in order that our own people, and particularly our children, may not lose confidence in American democracy as a way of life, and in order that we may be encouraged and reassured thereby to press on to greater and higher accomplishments." After considerable discussion, emphasizing particularly the desirability of having the report show progress that has been made in the United States, it was pointed out that insofar as this involves comparison with other countries there is very little information available for exact measurement. The proposed amendment was rejected.

The question of adopting the Conference report as a whole was put to a vote. The report as a whole was adopted

Session at the White House—January 19

Opening Remarks by the Chairman of the Conference

Those of you who have been meeting in this Conference for the last 2 days know how important have been the deliberations, the recommendations, and the discussions which we have had together, and I think that I am right when I say to you and to the President that this Conference has been an example of democracy in action.

Embraced within this Conference are people of all shades of opinion and from all kinds of background. There are people who come from every walk and every experience which American life offers to its citizens. So I think we are unusually proud of the quality and character of the deliberations and the discussions which we have had in these last 2 days, for we have been concentrating our experience and our knowledge upon the problems of the child in American life. I submit that out of the exercise of the old democratic process of debate, of dispute, of question, and of attack, if necessary, we have had a coming together of minds, a sense of the meeting of minds, if you will, which is the essence of American democracy.

In a country as large as this, we cannot hope to have the simple, elemental practice of the town meeting, but we have had, I think, within this representative assembly, something that approaches the town meeting in its experience and in its expression of its knowledge. This, I think, Mr. President, is a very significant and a very important contribution to the ways of life in America in this year 1940, for if we cannot find a way to meet each other's minds and to meet each other's objections we have lost the essence of democracy. But in this Conference I think we have found a way by which honest people, people of good will, really can have a meeting of the minds.

We have broken up into specialized groups for discussion of special aspects of the problems of the child in American life in this year 1940, and we have recalled that this is not the first White House Conference on children—this is the fourth White House Conference on children. We have reiterated and reaffirmed our faith in the recommendations of the first and the second and the third White House Conference on the life of children in America, and we have realized that insofar as we perform our duties and perform our functions with regard to children in America we are, perhaps, laying the basis of a democratic society.

This Conference tonight is a conference of unusual importance and significance in American life. I want to remind you, Mr. President, that it is a conference in which we have recommended not only a few patterns and programs which might be useful if enacted into law and made the basis of State or Federal action. It is important because it has recommended, also, a pattern of life and a pattern of procedure and development which can be lived by the people of America, the parents, the teachers, the ministers, the recreation directors, the people of the United States.

And this is a citizens' conference, Mr. President. This is a conference in which the people of the United States have, themselves, participated. That is why this deliberation is important and that is why it is really a picture and an aspect of democracy in action—the people of the United States meeting together, not in this case through elected representatives but through a group of selected representatives, selected because of their knowledge and experience in particular fields, not trying to impose a pattern but trying to recommend a pattern which will really draw to itself the allegiance of the people of the United States because it is practical, because it is simple, and because it does really represent the moral purpose of all the people of the United States..

The Significance of the Conference to Parents

Mrs. H. W. AHART

President, Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau Federation

To us the most significant fact is that we have a government and an administration interested in children and their welfare, and this government is striving to eliminate some of the inequalities of opportunity that now exist.

We have a government that is most anxious to solve the social and economic problems that affect the welfare of children and youth in all its aspects, to give guidance and assistance required to assure security, protection, and opportunity.

We are again reminded of the familiar fact that city populations do not reproduce themselves and must depend on rural areas to meet their deficits. Authentic reports show—and we have heard this many times in the Conference—that the farmers of the Nation are supporting nearly one-third of the Nation's children on less than one-tenth of the Nation's income. Anyone can see what that means to the children in farm families.

So why should not this Conference be most significant to rural parents and urban people? It is significant to parents in that it is thinking of the health of our children and attempting to inaugurate a plan to

make America a healthy place for our children and our children's children. We are impressed with the fact that the Conference is considering the housing needs of children and is attempting to help the Government in its promotion of better places to live. We are considering the nutritional needs of the children and are trying to help the Government make food available to every child.

A very significant factor is that the Conference is attempting to think in terms of the parents themselves and to help them secure the information which is most needed in order to have healthier and happier children in America.

This Conference, as Madam Secretary just said, is truly a picture of democracy in action. We believe that the family is the threshold of democracy, and we further believe there can never be satisfactory substitutes for the integrity of family life and its dedication to the task of properly preparing children for the venture in citizenship.

In our deliberations we are stressing spiritual values and the important part religion has played in the development of the ideas of man and of the development of our national life.

Working together as we are in this Conference, we adults are exemplifying and putting into practice the recommendations we are emphasizing for child guidance and development; that is, learning that there is a common bond between the interests of the individual and the interests of the group, learning to respect the rights of others and to develop tolerance for their differences in traits and points of view, learning to adjust ourselves to the needs of others without the sacrifice of principles.

The greatest potential danger to our American democracy lies in the attitude of our youth to the solution of pressing economic problems. Ten years of widespread unemployment and the feeling of insecurity that permeates various groups have caused certain dangerous tendencies to manifest themselves in both the lower and upper age brackets. Age grows preoccupied with unworkable plans for pensions, and youth turns to ill-conceived plans for the complete reorganization of society. These conditions are of the utmost concern not only to parents but to their children. How many millions are roaming the country, homeless, workless, and with no constructive goal ahead of them?

An increasingly large proportion of children are on relief. Youth fears the future and under conditions of fear becomes fertile soil for the planting of seeds of discontent.

Youth is a period of life when one expects to gain an economic foothold in the world. Children in a democracy are entitled to all the emoluments that provide the necessities of life and opportunities for constructive service to self and the State. It is the duty of government to take whatever steps are necessary to provide these emoluments.

I subscribe wholeheartedly to the work of the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps and to their magnificent accomplishments in saving American youth from the black-out of economic crises. Democracy's greatest responsibility is to the children of our land.

The Conference Report and Program of Action

HOMER FOLKS, *Chairman of the Report Committee*

The membership of the Conference has accepted the report and approved the recommendations submitted by the Report Committee. We may now profitably take not a bird's-eye view but an airplane view of three areas in which we have been working in the fields:

- I. Children in the American democracy in the 1930's.
- II. Our present conclusions and recommendations.
- III. Getting something done about them.

We have by no means extracted the full meaning of the events of the past decade in relation to children. The depression is, of course, the outstanding feature of that decade. We should not underestimate its terrific blow to the child life of America. Neither should we underestimate the fact that the depression was met, stood up to, and dealt with, by the people of this country. Democracy proved itself flexible, resourceful, and concerned about its children. It had to take, and did take, many new untried steps for the relief of the families of the unemployed, including several million children.

Among these steps, it is interesting to note, is the full recognition in the amendments to the Social Security Act in 1939 of one of the chief conclusions of the first White House Conference, in 1909; namely, that children should not be removed from their families for poverty alone. That unchallenged statement has steadily moved into the area of accomplishment during the decade. It received an enormous impetus when the original Social Security Act established Federal aid to dependent children; the amendment of 1939 extended this principle to well nigh its logical conclusion. The hope of 1909 is a fact in 1939.

Several important things happened during the thirties which indicate that the steps taken to conserve the welfare of children and their parents were not without surprisingly encouraging results. For instance, the death rate among babies under 1 year of age continued to fall through the thirties. In 1929 it was 68 per 1,000 live births; in 1938 it was 51, a decrease of 25 percent. That is striking. It would not have been surprising if it had gone up. But there are even more striking facts. Since the time of my earliest public-health experience I had been told that the maternal death rate in the United States was high, that it remained high, and that seemingly no one could do any-

thing about it. But look now at the depression decade. In 1929 the maternal death rate was 70 per 10,000 live births. In 1938 it was 44. It has decreased each year, and in 1938 was 37 percent less than 10 years before.

Again, look at tuberculosis. In 1929 the number of deaths from tuberculosis in the United States (estimating conservatively 2 States whose figures were not then complete) was 93,000. It declined each year, and in 1938 was 64,000, a reduction of 29,000 or 31 percent, in the number of human lives lost from this cause in 1938. Most of these persons were in the middle years of life when family responsibilities were at their peak. This was certainly a great contribution to the increased stability of family life and child care.

Thus even the 1930's yield cheerful indications for the 1940's.

We start upon the new decade hopefully. We have acquired experience and momentum. We have learned to be flexible. We have learned that we must study changing general conditions and be ready to adapt ourselves and our activities thereto.

In 1940 we begin with new knowledge on how families may be protected still further in the performance of their vital functions for children. Especially is this true in avoiding the break-down of the family by avoidable illness or premature death of the father or mother. There is every reason for confidence that the notable improvements of the past decade in the reduction of maternal mortality and tuberculosis may continue with accelerated momentum.

New scientific knowledge and administrative experience open up other new and promising opportunities for comparable gains. The Nation-wide Federal-State-local well-organized campaign for the control of syphilis should certainly reduce in the near future the number of disabilities and deaths of fathers and mothers, for which any monetary grants can afford only the slightest amelioration of the harm done. Pneumonia, until now a catastrophe to be faced with resignation, is now definitely subject to direct and hopeful attack along similar cooperative lines, and thereby many thousands of families that otherwise would lose father or mother will be kept intact. Other striking opportunities open before us in almost a bewildering variety, though in varying degrees of development. Protection of the health of their parents certainly must be our first line of defense for the children of America.

In general, we may say that we already have the essentials for preventive and ameliorative services—a legal framework, a favorable public attitude, and adequate scientific knowledge. What we need is to study the present coverage of preventive and ameliorative services and to measure long-standing lacks and gaps in particular areas or in particular functions. The questions of administrative practicability and

of financial support move up into the first order of importance. Generally speaking, to secure full benefits for all children (and we dare not accept a lesser aim) we must move toward larger geographic units. The further increase of technical knowledge makes the smallest units increasingly impracticable. We must have larger units, but not too large, not at least until we have tried out the units next larger than we now have. We are clearly entering upon a hopeful effort to solve the problem of complete coverage by a system of financial aid and through some degree of leadership, by the larger units, for the smaller ones, but not for the smallest. This means State aid, fiscal and technical, for the next smaller units. It means Federal aid, fiscal primarily, but also technical, for the States, and through them for the localities. In entering upon this era of increased State aid, we should bear in mind our reasons for so doing, the advantages and also the limitations of this plan. So long as we leave the operating responsibility to the States we must be careful not to impair that responsibility. It may well be that a decade from now the next White House Conference on children may find one of its first duties to be that of studying and evaluating the plan of Federal aid and State aid in the light of its actual effects upon the vitality and effectiveness of the different areas of government. We need not try now to forecast its conclusions in 1950.

The "follow-up" for the 1940 Conference will be the subject of tomorrow morning's session. The 98 recommendations of the Report Committee have been accepted. The text of the report gives the why and wherefore for them. One thing may be said of them all—they will not be self-starting. We are committed by the logic of events, by our own self-respect, by the special knowledge and interest we have developed, to making some plans and taking some steps to initiate a follow-up program. What, then, in broad outlines are the things which we are to follow up?

The Report Committee put together these recommendations as its best judgment of what is actually needed; they were set down, one by one, on their merits. The order in which they are to be followed up must take into account at least two things—their inherent importance and the present degree of probability of their realization.

It would seem in order, then, to reexamine each of these recommendations and to ask by what steps its accomplishment may be approached; who in terms of authorities, agencies, or individuals, must act in each case; and who can get him or them to act.

The White House Conference is not a permanent nor even a continuing body. Presumably it should not be. It may be best that once a decade it should start afresh. It should ask, "Are we getting what we thought we would get when we set out on our various courses?"

There is unquestionably some degree of inherent tendency in all governmental bodies toward becoming bureaucratic and self-satisfied; and there is, as I see it, an equal tendency in voluntary agencies. The active program at the moment obscures the view of the long-range objective, and the location and nature of that objective may be forgotten. Therefore, in essence, the follow-up program presumably must consist primarily in getting those permanent or quasi-permanent bodies, public and private, which have interests or responsibilities relating to children to measure their present programs and activities against the things which this Conference finds to be desirable. If they concur as to the soundness of our findings, we may hope that, with such aid and support as we may enlist for them, they will modify their program so as to coincide more fully with the conclusions of this Conference.

The recommendations of this Conference vary widely in kind. They range, for instance, from changes in the attitude of the entire people toward such questions as family life as a preparation for democracy, on the one hand, to detailed amendments of the Social Security Act on the other. They include several prepared studies, one under Federal auspices, two under national voluntary agencies. They include a readjustment of the programs of a wide variety of voluntary agencies, Nation-wide, State, and local, particularly with reference to taking a constructive interest in governmental policies and activities. They include action by Congress, both on lines of Federal operation and on lines of cooperation with States. They include legislative and administrative action in each of the 48 States. They include modification and development of the activities of all local governmental agencies in the wide fields of education, health, welfare, and recreation.

To give an initial impulse toward such extended objectives it is obvious that a general educational campaign must be carried on in respect to the studies, conclusions, and recommendations of this Conference. It should assist in creating a background of interest and acceptance on the part of the people, out of which soil modifications of the attitude of individuals, action by voluntary agencies, and legislation and administration of governmental authorities might naturally spring.

Not only must the soil be prepared by such a broad, inclusive information service, but the seed must be sown—seed of many varieties—and each type must be sown in the manner, under the circumstances, and in such locations as will give promise of normal growth and fruitful harvest.

In other words, our task is to foster a definite interest on the part of voluntary agencies and public authorities concerned with any phase of the total field—education, health, welfare, recreation, and

the like—in reviewing their present activities in the light of the present activities of all agencies and authorities and of the total picture as outlined in our report. Since the end of knowledge is action, it must be our hope that in the light of such comparison they will proceed to the enactment of such legislative changes and the realization of such administrative changes as may be required in their respective areas to bring about a harmonious, comprehensive program for the children of America, based on State and local action, stimulated and supplemented by Federal action, supplemented and strengthened by voluntary agencies to such extent as may be necessary to achieve the general objective.

The answer to the question as to who must be followed up must be “everybody”: the general public, the general informational and educational services, the officers and directors of voluntary agencies, the President and the Congress, the 48 Governors, the 48 legislatures, and the army of local executive and legislative bodies.

There is one other group which must be followed up, perhaps the most important and possibly the most difficult—ourselves. We see the White House Conference objectives now, we feel their importance at the moment; but they are no longer novel to us. Under the pressure of our other continuing interests are we not likely to lose sight of the logical implication of what we have done here? We must organize procedures by which we may follow up even ourselves, lest *we* forget.

Address by the President of the United States

I come here tonight with a very heavy heart because shortly ago I received word of the passing of a very old friend of mine, a very great American, Senator Borah. I had known him for a great many years and I had realized, although perhaps on this or that or the other political problem we may have differed from time to time, yet his purpose and my purpose and the ultimate objective of, I think, everybody in this room interested in the future of America, were identical—and the Nation has lost one of its great leaders in his passing.

I am glad to come here in the thought that Senator Borah of Idaho would want us to go on with the work of building a better citizenship in the days to come in the United States.

You know, I go back, not as far as he did, but I go back a great many years. I go back to my days in college when I worked for an organization called “The Social Service Committee.” After that my wife came into the picture and, when we were engaged, I discovered that she was teaching classes of children on the East Side in New York.

And then, very soon after I was admitted to the bar, I got to know another very great American, an old friend of yours and mine, Homer Folks. Probably Homer does not remember it himself, but in New York in those days we were just beginning to take up the problem of providing milk for babies, for mothers, in all parts of that big city. And I, wanting to do something in addition to trying to learn a little law, went in with an organization which has long since ceased to exist because it was absorbed by greater organizations, the New York Milk Committee, and I worked for 2 or 3 years in trying to help in placing milk stations for babies on the East Side and West Side and up in the Bronx in New York City.

Homer Folks was one of the principal moving agencies in setting that up, and it is rather an interesting thing that the woman who was most directly responsible for helping to provide milk for dependent poor children in the great city of New York was Mrs. Borden Harriman. I sent Mrs. Harriman as United States Minister to Norway 2 years ago.

Last April when this Conference first met in this room I asked you to consider two things: first, how a democracy can best serve its children; and, the corollary, how children can best be helped to grow into the kind of citizens who will know how to preserve and perfect our democracy.

Since that time—since last April—a succession of world events has shown us that our democracy must be strengthened at every point of strain or weakness. All Americans want this country to be a place where children can live in safety and grow in understanding of the part that they are going to play in the future of our American Nation. And on that question people have come to me and they have said, "What about defense?" "Well," I have said, "internal defense and external defense are one and the same thing. You cannot have one unless you can have both."

Adequate national defense, in the broadest sense on the one side, calls for adequate munitions and implements of war and, at the same time, it calls for educated, healthy, and happy citizens. And neither requisite, taken alone, taken all by itself without the other, will defend the national security.

And so today, in January 1940, it is my pleasure to receive from you the General Conference Report with its program of action. You have adopted this report after days of careful deliberation, preceded by nearly a year of study and discussion.

And, by way of illustration, I am having a problem with the Congress of the United States as to whether the problems of the United States are going to be decided after a couple of days of careful deliberation in each House or whether I am going to get a couple of

million dollars for undertaking studies that would correspond to this year of study, this year of discussion, that you good people have been putting into the problem of children in a democracy. And I think I am going to win out.

When I started to jot down some notes about what I was going to say tonight—and so far I have been speaking, as you have observed, practically extemporaneously—I said to myself, “This is going to be the most dreadful speech I have ever delivered,” because when I come to write down notes and dictate a speech, I say to myself, “What is it in this particular subject that I am going to talk about that hits me between the eyes?” And, on this particular subject of children in a democracy, the thing that hit me between the eyes was what I got about a week ago—a list, a tabulation, a catalog of what you have been studying.

And so I felt that the Nation as a whole ought to realize that the subject of children covers several pages of a catalog. There are so many interests involved, so many problems involved. Almost everybody who is hearing me tonight, I suppose, in every State of the Union, thinks of children in terms of two or three of these subjects on the average, two or three subjects in which he or she has special experience or special interest, such as the education of children or the recreation of children or the health of children. Or he or she may have some great enthusiasm for one particular kind of child-welfare service. For instance, I myself am tremendously interested in crippled children.

But this Conference report rightly calls on us to think of children as a whole, as each child is related, not to one life, not only to his own life but to the lives of his brothers and sisters, the life of his family, and then, inevitably, to the life of his community, the life of his county, the life of his State, and the life of his Nation.

And that is why if people in this country are going to think of this problem as it really is, they have got to listen to a catalog for the next 10 minutes.

I can illustrate best the extent to which the interests of children are interwoven with the interests of families and communities by giving you these main topics of the Conference. I do not think there is any one of these topics of which we can say, “Well, that is awfully nice, but what relation has it to the problem of my child?” Well, of course it has; every subject here has.

And the first part of the Conference report reminds us sharply that by every step we take to protect the families of America, we are protecting the children also. Put that in another way: It means that what Federal Government and State government, county government, town government, village government, everything else, what they are doing to coordinate the economy and the social problems of their own

communities in relation to the whole population necessarily has an effect on every child in that community. Here we find in this report recommendations in general which constitute an argument for buttressing and strengthening, in the first instance, the institution of the family, the family as it relates again to a whole, and of other things—health, training, and opportunities of children in what we are pleased to call a democracy—and, thank God, it still is.

This part of the discussion includes families and their incomes, families in need of assistance, families and their dwellings, and the family as a threshold to the future democracy of this country.

And then, following that group of topics, the report discusses a lot of other things that either enter or ought to enter into the life of every American child in every part of the country, schools, religion, leisure-time activities—mind you, these are all separate topics that we are trying to coordinate into one national picture—libraries, protection against child labor, youth and the needs of youth, the conserving of child health, the social services for children, children in minority groups, and, something that a lot of people forget, as I have good reason to know as the Chief Executive, the subject of public financing and administration.

But what I am specially pleased about is this: that this Conference, made up of men and women that belong to every political party in every part of the country, has found that we have definitely improved our social institutions and our public services during these past 10 years. I think they have been the most interesting 10 years since—what? Well, at least since the Civil War and maybe since the Revolution. And we are all glad we have had a part in them because I believe that though we have had lots of trouble, lots of difficulties, these past 10 years have been 10 useful years and, on the whole, 10 years of definite progress in a democracy.

The Conference concludes, and rightly, that to have made progress in a period of hardship and strain proves that America has both strength and courage.

But, again, I agree with the Conference that we still have got a long way to go. Too many children—and you can find them in every State in the Union—are living under conditions that must be corrected if our democracy is to develop to its highest capacity. The Conference tells me that more than half of the children of America are living in families that do not have enough money to provide fully adequate shelter, adequate food, adequate clothing, adequate medical care, and adequate educational opportunities.

I have been called to task, as you all know, because I have reiterated, reiterated many times, something about one-third of America—the ill-clothed, ill-housed, ill-fed—criticized on the ground that I was

saying something derogatory. I have been telling the truth, and you good people have sustained me by that statement that more than half the children of America are living in families that do not have enough money to provide fully adequate shelter, food, clothing, medical care, and educational opportunity. Why should not we admit it? By admitting it we are saying we are going to improve things.

Yes, and you are rightly concerned that provision be made for those who are unemployed, whether for economic or for personal reasons. To keep families from starving while the fathers walk the streets in vain in search for jobs will not give children the best start in life.

Social insurance to provide against total loss of income and appropriate work projects adjusted to fluctuations in private employment and both urban and rural needs, constitute the first lines of defense against family disaster.

And I am glad of what has been said tonight about urban problems. I think my very good old friend, the Mayor of New York, would not mind my telling a story of what happened up at Hyde Park last autumn. He was up there lunching with us. We had a big lunch, 18 or 20 people, and we were talking about the problem of distribution of population in the United States. Well, that is an old thing that I have been "hobbying" about for a great many years, 20 or 30 years. And I talked about the problem of overcrowding the cities. I talked about whether it was a good thing, with a big question mark, about cities getting too big, the bigger cities getting still bigger, and whether we could not work on some plan for a greater decentralization of the population, the building up of the smaller communities. And then, as a sort of jest, I said, "You know, Fiorello, I am going to say something awful that you won't agree with. I think your problem in New York City, with 7 million men, women, and children in it, is a bad one. I think that the problem of civilized life in a community of that size is almost too big a problem, and I think that New York would be better off if it had 6 million people instead of 7."

And the Mayor of New York looked at me, and he said, "Mr. President, I cannot agree." He said, "Mr. President, you are wrong." He said, "New York would be better off if it had 5 million people in it instead of 7."

And, by way of following up the same subject—this is just purely from memory—we were talking of conditions before the World War, somewhere around 1913 or 1914 when I was over here in the Navy Department—I read an extraordinarily interesting pamphlet which carried out the thought that you have heard tonight about rural populations. It was by a great French doctor who had made all kinds of examinations of records, vital statistics in half a dozen of

the great cities of Europe, and he had come to the conclusion, and had attempted to prove it by family statistics, that any family that had been city-bred for three or four generations died out and that the only families in cities that survived were the families that had an influx of country blood every generation or two. Now, I do not know whether our modern medical friends will support that, but at least it is something well worth our thinking about in terms of the America of the future.

You tell me, in effect, in this report what I have been talking about for many years, that we have been moving forward toward the objective of raising the incomes and the living conditions of the poorest portion of our population, that we have made some dent on the problem and that, most decidedly, we cannot stop and rest on our rather meager laurels.

Yes; I agree with you that public assistance of many kinds is necessary. But I suggest to you that the Federal Treasury has a bottom to it, and that mere grants-in-aid constitute no permanent solution of the problem of our health, our education, or our children, but that we should address ourselves to two definite policies: First, to increase the average of incomes in the poorer communities and in the poorer groups, in the poorer areas of the Nation, and, secondly, that we should address ourselves to an insistence that in every community, in every State, and the District of Columbia, they should pay taxes in accordance with ability to pay.

The Conference report—going on with this catalog—and it is very educational to read a catalog—has called attention also to the need for continuing and expanding public and private housing programs if the families in the lowest income groups are to live in dwellings suitable for the raising of children.

Last April, to take another item, I referred to our concern for the children of the migratory families who have no settled place of abode. I spoke casually to the press today about a study I am making. Up in the State of Washington we are spending a great many millions to harness the Columbia River, to put a great dam up there which will pump the water up onto a huge area of land capable of providing a living for 500,000 people—irrigated land, today a desert, which can be made a garden with the process of modern science. Who ought to go there? Are we going to treat that, 2 years from now, just as we treat the average irrigation project? Will it be a contract with the Government to pay out the loan over a period of years on the basis—first come, first served?

I have read a book; it is called *Grapes of Wrath*, and there are 500,000 Americans that live in the covers of that book. I would like to see the Columbia Basin devoted to the care of 500,000 people represented in *Grapes of Wrath*.

Migratory families, the situation of their children, children who have no homes, families who can put down no roots, cannot live in a community—that calls for special consideration. But I am being practical. I am trying to find a place for them to go. This means, in its simplest terms, a program for the permanent resettlement of at least 1 million people in the Columbia Basin and a lot of other places. And remember that the money spent on it after careful planning is going to be returned to the United States Government many times over in a relatively short time.

To go on, your report has devoted many pages to family economics. I know very little about that—my wife does. We all recognize that the spirit within the home is the most important influence in the growth of the child. In family life the child should first learn confidence in his own powers, respect for the feelings and the rights of others, the feeling of security and mutual good will and faith in God. Here he should find a common bond between the interests of the individual and the interests of the group. Mothers and fathers, by the kind of life they build within the four walls of the home, are largely responsible for the future social and public life of the country.

And, just as we cannot take care of the child apart from the family, so his welfare is bound up with a lot of other institutions that influence his development—the school, the church, the agencies that offer useful and happy activities and interests for leisure time. The work of all these institutions needs to be harmonized so as to give our children rounded growth with the least possible conflict and loss of effort. And the money and hard work that go into these public and private enterprises are, again, repaid many times.

And I think that religion, religion especially, helps children to appreciate life in its wholeness, to develop a deep sense of the sacredness of the human personality. In view of the estimate that perhaps one-half of the children of America are having no regular religious instruction, it seems to me important to consider how provision can best be made for some kind of religious training. We can do it because in this way we are capable of keeping in mind both the wisdom of maintaining the separation of church and state and, at the same time, giving weight to the great importance of religion in personal and social living.

And I share with you the belief that fair opportunity for schooling ought to be available to every child in this country. I agree with you that no American child, merely because he happens to be born where property values are low and local taxes do not, even though they should, support the schools, should be placed at a disadvantage in his preparation for citizenship.

Certainly our future is endangered when nearly a million children of elementary-school age are not in school; when thousands of school

districts and even some entire States do not pay for good schools. This situation has been reported by many agencies, private and public, and, the way I have got it down here in my manuscript, "needs to be more widely understood." That does not mean anything. What I really wanted to say is this: I would like to put on the front page of every newspaper in the United States a list of the most backward school districts, the most backward school States in the United States.

That is rough treatment, but if every person in the United States could know where the conditions are worst in education and health those areas would get the sympathy, the understanding, and the help for improving those worst of conditions. And again, I have to suggest that the permanent answer is not mere hand-outs from the Federal Treasury but that the problem has to be solved by improving the economics in these poorer sections and an insistence, hand in hand with it, that there be adequate taxation in accordance with ability to pay.

We must plan also, on a larger scale, to give American children a chance for healthful play and worthwhile use of leisure. I agree with you that a democratic government has a vital interest in those matters. And I am glad that you have suggested a national commission, under private auspices, to study leisure-time needs and recreational resources.

More than in any previous decade we know how to safeguard the health of parents and children. Because of the advance of medical knowledge and the growth of public-health work, we have it in our power to conquer diseases that we could not conquer 10 years ago, and the ability to promote general good health.

New opportunities to us mean new duties. It was one thing to let people sicken and die when we were helpless to protect them. And it is quite another thing to leave a large portion of our population without care at all. It is my definite hope—and I believe that hope can be fulfilled—that within the next 10 years every part of the country—just to use an example—every part of the United States will have complete and adequate service for all women during maternity and for all newborn infants. That we can do.

So, too, good nutrition is the basis of child health. And I am equally in sympathy with your suggestion that I appoint a National Nutrition Committee to review our present knowledge and to coordinate our efforts, looking toward the development of nutrition policies based on the newest and best methods—and we are making new discoveries every day.

You, all the members of the Conference, have charted a course, a course for 10 years to come. Nevertheless, the steps that we take now, in this year of 1940, are going to determine how far we can go tomorrow, and in what direction.

I believe with you that if anywhere in the country any child lacks opportunity for home life, for health protection, for education, for moral or spiritual development, the strength of the Nation and its ability to cherish and advance the principles of democracy are thereby weakened.

I ask all our fellow citizens who are within the sound of my voice to consider themselves identified with the work of this Conference. I ask you all to study and discuss with friends and neighbors the program that it has outlined, to study how its objectives can be realized. May the security and the happiness of every boy and girl in our land be our concern, our personal concern, from now on.

You, the members of this Conference, this Conference on Children in a Democracy, you are leaders of a new American army of peace.

Translating the Conference Report Into Action— January 20

Opening Remarks by the Chairman of the Conference

For 2 days we have been listening to and taking action on the report of the Conference which has made recommendations of opinion and recommendations for action.

In his address last night the President of the United States asked all of us to consider how the objectives of the Conference could be realized. Only as they mean to the children of our Nation a better chance for the security of home and health and educational opportunity do they have real significance.

It is how to put them into action and how to prepare a method of putting them into action that we are to consider this morning as a primary responsibility of the last session of the Conference. Our theme at this closing session then is the findings and recommendations adopted yesterday and presented to the President and their translation into a pattern of action by which we are all prepared to stand.

In order that the Conference might have before it suggestions for a program of action, a committee on follow-up was appointed by the Planning Committee. The report of this committee outlining plans for Nation-wide consideration and action will be presented by its chairman.

Plans for Nation-Wide Consideration and Action. Report of the Conference Committee on the Follow-Up Program¹

Mrs. SAIDIE ORR DUNBAR

President, General Federation of Women's Clubs

It was the task of the Conference Committee on the Follow-Up Program to consider how the goals toward which we have set our faces in this Conference may be reached. The challenge given to us at the first session of the Conference in April 1939 by the President of the United States, the chairman of the Conference, and the chair-

¹ Members of Committee on the Follow-Up Program: Mrs. Saidie Orr Dunbar, chairman; Elisabeth Christman, Martha M. Eliot, M. D., Henry F. Helmholtz, M. D., Homer Folks, Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, Mrs. J. K. Pettengill, Floyd W. Reeves, Josephine Roche.

man of the Report Committee, was twofold. It included, first, review and restatement of the primary objectives of a democratic society for its children, and the extent to which they are being realized or can be realized in the United States; and second, the call to consider how our children may be prepared to take their places as citizens in our democracy, to understand its aspirations and contribute to its fuller development.

This Conference, though called by the President of the United States, is an enterprise carried on by citizens from many walks of life, the majority not connected with government. Through committees and a research staff, with the aid of groups of consultants in which more than 150 persons have participated, material and recommendations on 11 major topics have been brought together. As a second step, these have been combined into a General Report, which was adopted January 19 after 2 days of deliberation and presented to the President the same evening in a session held at The White House. The report covers the following subjects: The Family as the Threshold of Democracy; Families and Their Incomes; Families and Their Dwellings; Families in Need of Assistance; Social Services for Children; Children in Minority Groups; Religion in the Lives of Children; Conserving the Health of Children; Educational Services in the Community; Leisure-Time Services; and Protection Against Child Labor. The last section of the report is a "Call to Action": to do now those things that can be done now, and to plan now those that must be left for the morrow.

The Conference believes that in a world showing many signs of break-down the American people can present a picture of a Nation directing its thought and actions toward building for the future. Thus we can strengthen our democracy.

In responding to this call we are encouraged by the definite and tangible results of the three previous conferences on children held under White House auspices. The Conference of 1909 gave great impetus to the mothers' pension movement and the movement for the establishment of the United States Children's Bureau. The Conference of 1919 adopted child-welfare standards and stimulated efforts for health protection, child-labor regulation, and protection of children suffering from individual or social handicaps such as the physically handicapped, the dependent, and the delinquent. The 1930 Conference adopted the Children's Charter, constituting a declaration of the rights of American children, and laid the foundations for developments in many fields.

The gains made as the result of these Conferences did not just happen. Words mean nothing in an undertaking of this kind unless they lead to action. Fortunately America is rich in possibilities for carry-

ing the message of this 1940 Conference to every corner of the United States. There are agencies in the Nation and in the States and local communities devoted to advancing the health, education, and welfare of children and strengthening family resources for the care of children.

Membership in the Conference is not confined to a single group but represents a cross section of American life. Members of labor organizations, farm organizations, churches, schools, leisure-time agencies, and health and social-welfare organizations—all have participated in its work. Many agencies of the Federal Government are represented in the Conference membership and on Conference committees. To name only a few, they include the Children's Bureau, the Office of Education, the Public Health Service, the Social Security Board, various Bureaus of the Department of Agriculture, Federal housing agencies, the National Youth Administration, the Work Projects Administration. In addition to governmental resources, Federal, State, and local, many privately supported organizations are conducting or are keenly interested in child-welfare work. Some 150 national organizations interested in children have direct access to the work of the Conference through membership of persons active in these agencies.

To put the recommendations of the Conference into effect is not a matter of creating new agencies. Existing organizations need a continuing source of information and help in directing their efforts into the most fruitful channels and more fully coordinating their activities. There is need also to bring the work of the Conference to the attention of individuals all over this country, so that the goals for childhood which the Conference has set forth may be realized.

It is clear that Nation-wide planning is only the beginning of a program for making this Conference mean something to individual children. It must reach individual children in communities and States, in Maine or Mississippi, New York, Michigan, or Florida. It must mean something to Johnny, whose father is dead; to Mary, who shares in the work of the family as they follow the crops, never staying long enough in any one place for Mary to become really settled in school; to undernourished Stephen or crippled Susie or George, whose mother is at her wit's end to know why he is forever coming to the attention of the police and the juvenile court. The general aims of the Conference are equally valid in all parts of the country and for all children; the community efforts that must be made to achieve the objectives will be many and varied.

In the last analysis whom must we reach in this follow-up program? It is the citizen, voter, taxpayer. He is the one, the only one, who can turn recommendations into realities. It may be at a school-board meeting to choose a school superintendent or teacher who will carry

out the educational policies recommended; it may be as a member of the parent-teacher association whose support or whose pressure may determine whether a school district is large enough to do the job and whether the school budget shall provide kindergarten and recreation along with the three "R's." The citizen or voter confronted with a bond issue for a county hospital or a community health service may determine whether the child or the expectant mother is to receive medical care. As citizens join together in common effort to urge provision for libraries where there are none, to support public housing programs where public opinion is indifferent, to create good will for sound labor relations and labor policies, the aims of this Conference will be carried forward.

No standardized follow-up program will do. One State may need to focus its effort on improving its program of aid to dependent children; another, on strengthening its child-labor laws; another, on raising the standards of its maternal and child-health work; another, on improving its rural schools. In all States there is need for improvement in all these activities, but the steps that should be taken first are not the same in every State or even in every community within a State.

The Conference Committee on the Follow-Up Program has been exploring the ways in which the Conference could be most effective in planning how to meet these widely varying needs through utilizing all the resources of private initiative and government that can be mustered. It makes the following recommendations:

1. That follow-up work be started at once.
2. That responsibility for national leadership in the follow-up program be placed in a National Citizens Committee and a Federal Interagency Committee of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. The National Citizens Committee should be nongovernmental in character, representing organizations and associations that have participated in the work of the Conference. The Federal Interagency Committee should include representatives of Federal agencies that have participated in the Conference activities.
3. That the function of the National Citizens Committee include preparing and disseminating printed, visual, and radio material; enlisting the cooperation of national organizations in studying and furthering the objectives of the Conference; cooperating with governmental agencies in matters relating to the follow-up program; and assisting the States and Territories in the development of State and Territorial programs adapted to the needs and interests of each State.
4. That the Conference request the Federal agencies represented in the membership of the Conference to form a Federal Interagency Committee of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, with power to add to its membership, whose functions would include: interchange of information and coordinated planning on the part of the Federal agencies in matters related to the Conference program; cooperation with the National Citizens Committee; collaboration with such State interagency committees as may be formed; and encouragement of cooperation between the Federal agencies and the State agencies

with which they have close relationships in carrying out the objectives of the Conference.

5. That State follow-up programs be inaugurated, adapted to the special problems and circumstances in each State. In making this recommendation the Conference takes note of work already done in reviewing child-welfare conditions in certain States and Territories, notably Louisiana and Hawaii, preparatory to this session of the Conference. Development of State citizens' and interagency committees may be found to be advisable in many States; in others, different methods of organization would be more appropriate. The National Citizens Committee and the Federal Interagency Committee should make available to the States service in developing methods of organizing State follow-up work.

6. That State groups responsible for follow-up programs provide leadership to local communities which desire to organize or expand local programs for determining the ways by which children may be given more adequate care in their homes and through community services.

7. That the Conference authorize the Planning Committee to appoint a group of 5 to take responsibility for organizing and calling together a National Citizens Committee of approximately 15 to 25 members, representative of the interests of labor, industry, agriculture, religion, citizens, and the professions.

8. That the Finance Committee of the Conference be asked to explore the possibilities of financial support of the work of the National Citizens Committee for a definite period, sufficient to provide adequate leadership and staff assistance, with funds available if possible for assistance in the development of State follow-up programs.

9. That in all States and in local communities existing organizations interested in child welfare participate to the fullest extent possible, and that National, State, and local organizations stress continuity and progressive development of the services they are prepared to render.

10. That in organizing follow-up programs, National, State, and local, due consideration be given to minority representation in planning and carrying out the follow-up work of the Conference.

The White House Conference on Children in a Democracy recognizes the steady progress that has been made in many fields of child welfare during the past 30 years. It likewise faces the shortcomings and deficiencies which still exist and determines to set these forth for the immediate consideration of the people of the Nation. We raise our voices in expression of fair claims for adequate funds to meet the needs of children, who cannot speak for themselves. "Our concern is every child."

In this hour of world-wide confusion, we are gathered in our Nation's Capital to accept a call for action to do those things that can be done now for children, to safeguard the strong family life which is absolutely essential to our democracy, and to plan now those things that must be left for the morrow. We can present to the world a picture of a nation devoting thought and resources to building for the future. Thus the fourth White House Conference will serve the child of today and the children of the future.

The Responsibility of the Individual and the Community

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

I was asked to tell you this morning about individual responsibility in the matters which you have been discussing here.

It is perfectly obvious that each member of the Conference feels a personal responsibility for carrying out as far as possible in his community the ideas and the programs which have been thought out during the past few days; but that is not enough. I think more and more we realize that what we really must do is to awaken the responsibility of each individual as far as he can be reached in every community throughout the United States.

Now, that is a difficult thing to do, and yet as the first thing that we have to consider in carrying out a program is how we are going to get the money, it is important that every individual make a study of his own community and the needs of the children in that community. It is true that we cannot separate the children from the needs of their families, but the more we know about our own community the better we shall be able to understand what we hear about communities in other parts of the country.

The President, last night, said that it was necessary for the country to know conditions throughout the country, that there were places that would find it extremely difficult for economic reasons to carry their own load, and that if the rest of the country knew about what was happening in any locality which did not have a sufficient economic background to carry on the necessary services of education, of health, of care for the young people of the community, then the rest of the country, realizing the importance that everywhere these things be considered, would be willing to help bring up the economic level in their neighbors' communities.

Perhaps that seems a long way to go, and yet I think we realize that no one in this country stays forever in the place where he is born. It is true a few people never move out of their locality, but more and more we are finding that people travel and the people who unfortunately have come from communities which cannot give their children a fair chance are going to come and live, perhaps, in the community where we pride ourselves that we give our children everything it is possible to give them.

Therefore, we have got to become national-minded. We want to try to take an interest in the economic situation of every part of the country. We want the whole country, for instance, to know when one part of the country needs legislation to help it bring up its economic status. We all want to get back of the measures which will help every community.

In the meantime it may be necessary for other communities to help those communities until they have been able to make every community in the country self-sufficient enough to carry whatever they really need to do for the well-being of their children.

I think the important thing that we want to bring home to our constituencies is that this program must be the responsibility of every citizen, not just to see that a child in his own community has a chance—that is very important, very necessary—but as a citizen of a Nation to watch the children of every community.

I have seen many things in different parts of this country, and I have seen children that I think everyone who is listening today would agree with me had very little chance of being valuable citizens in a democracy.

Democracy is being challenged today, and we are the greatest democracy. It remains to be seen if we have the vision and the courage and the self-sacrifice to give our children all over the Nation a chance to be real citizens of a democracy.

If we are going to do that, we must see that they get a chance at health, that they get a chance at an equal opportunity for education. We must see that they get a chance at the kind of education which will help them to meet a changing world. We must see that, as far as possible, these youngsters, when they leave school, get a chance to work and get a chance to be accepted and to feel important as members of their communities.

I think there is nothing that helps one to develop so much as responsibility, and for that reason I think it is well for us to try to bring home to every one of our citizens the fact that our young people must be given an opportunity to feel real responsibility in their communities.

I also feel that it is a pity we do not, some of us, retire from some of our responsibilities and turn them over to younger people in our communities, because we learn by doing and they will learn by doing, too. And I hope that from this Conference there will come a knowledge throughout the country of the needs of young people and a willingness on the part of more and more people to take a national point of view and a national sense of responsibility for the young people of the Nation who will some day make the Nation.

The Responsibility of Government

FRANK BANE

Executive Director, Council of State Governments

All people have not always agreed that government has any responsibility for the welfare of children. John Randolph, more than a hundred years ago, bitterly complained of a new movement that had

recently seized the mind of man that government should educate our children for us, and he prophesied that such a policy would undermine the moral fiber of the Nation and make us all laggards and, perchance, drunkards.

About 85 years ago President Pierce, in vetoing a bill for Federal aid to the States for welfare purposes, said in no uncertain terms that the United States under the Constitution has no responsibility in this field. President Taft, some 30 years ago, questioning whether he should sign a bill just passed by Congress establishing a United States Children's Bureau, observed that interest in the education of children and their development was one thing, but recourse to the National Government for a bureau of this sort was decidedly another thing. The President was more accurate, perhaps, than he realized.

The establishment of the United States Children's Bureau was another thing, but a very important thing, and one which marked the beginning of a new era for childhood in America, an era in which, within the short space of one generation, all areas of government, Federal, State, and local, would recognize their collective and cooperative responsibility for the welfare of all children, would assume that responsibility, and would make great progress in an effective manner toward building a sound and lasting foundation for this democracy of ours.

What is the responsibility of government for the welfare of children? The answer is not difficult. Previous White House conferences have charted the course, have laid out a program, and we are well under way.

It is the responsibility of government to see that the children of these United States are well-born, that they enjoy a sheltered childhood amidst healthful surroundings, that they have an opportunity to play, that educational opportunities are available to all in accordance with their needs, and last but not most important, that provision is made for the economic security of families and that there is a place for children in the economic scheme of things when they grow up. Upon these last two, it seems, all else depends.

One of the first problems to which the newly established United States Children's Bureau directed its attention was that of maternal and infant hygiene. As a result of its activities in cooperation with States and localities and of the extension of public-health activities and services generally there has been a great and constant decrease in infant mortality throughout the country and the maternal death rate has been greatly curtailed.

First, under the Sheppard-Towner Act, and now under the stimulation of the maternal and child-health section of the Social Security Act, all Federal, State, and local governmental agencies are busily engaged in a Nation-wide effort to reduce further the hazards of moth-

erhood, to reduce further infant mortality, and to insure for all children a running start in the game of life.

A sheltered childhood, amidst healthful surroundings, and an opportunity to play—here, too, progress has been made, but here the unevenness of our progress is most apparent. All levels of government are now agreed that families should be kept together, and concrete governmental programs are now designed to this end, as Homer Folks said last night, after 30 years.

States, and particularly municipalities, have within the short space of 25 years adopted recreation as a regular and continuing function of government and have built recreation programs. The city of 10,000 or more anywhere in this country without a playground for children is today an exception.

Despite this development, however, such facilities are not available for all children because in this country some children still must work. It is therefore, I believe, a responsibility of government to outlaw child labor in America definitely, formally, and effectively by ratifying the child-labor amendment now pending.

As in no other country in the world, our governments have accepted the responsibility for providing educational advantages to all children, and yet education, like some other more concrete commodities, suffers from problems of distribution; excellent facilities in some parts of the country, very poor facilities in others. The establishment of certain minimum standards, the financing of an adequate system in rural as well as urban America, the gearing of our educational system to meet the needs of children with differing mental and physical characteristics, are problems which still confront government and to which we must devote our attention during the next decade.

The question might well be raised, in fact has been raised during the past few years, Can these services to children be maintained and extended apart from the economic security of families?

And what will it profit us to rear, educate, and train coming generations if, when they grow up, many of them find the doors of opportunity plastered with "No help wanted" signs?

Unemployment and family security—these above all else seem to constitute our major problems as we enter the 1940's; problems which are within themselves the major responsibility of our modern government.

We have attacked these problems on a broad front and we have made much progress, but in the next decade we must find a comprehensive solution for our economic ills. We are, however, well started on our main job, the main job of every nation, that of building citizens, and during the next decade we mean to see this job through.

Just what, in a word, is the responsibility of government? I can state it no better than a very distinguished American whose birthday

we celebrate next month stated it some 80 years ago. Abraham Lincoln stated that it is the responsibility of government to do for the people what needs to be done but what they cannot by individual effort do at all, or do so well, for themselves. I think this Conference subscribes to just that insofar as the government's responsibility for the welfare of children is concerned.

I do not know, Madam Chairman, what these services will cost. I have not tried to estimate it, but I do know that they are the price of democracy, a price that we can afford, I am convinced, and a price that we must pay if we would maintain this America of ours as a land of opportunity, a land of freedom, and a land of peace.

Address by the Federal Security Administrator

PAUL V. McNUTT

It is a great privilege and pleasure to participate in this Conference on Children in a Democracy, and I wish at the outset to pay tribute to the splendid leadership of the Children's Bureau in organizing the Conference and likewise to the distinguished membership of the Conference, whose careful study and care have resulted in such stimulating reports around which the discussions of the Conference have taken place. In studying these reports and in following the discussions, I have been impressed with the seriousness of purpose behind the Conference and the acute realization by all of us of the necessity for pressing for increased work for the welfare of our children if we are to maintain the safety of our democracy, because this safety depends in large measure upon the welfare of our children. As the Administrator of the agency of the Federal Government having the responsibility for many of our social-security programs looking toward the security of the family, its wage earners, and individual dependent members, I am continuously aware of the great extent to which the well-being of our children depends upon real security for the family.

Mr. Bane brought that fact to your attention, and through his long experience in the Social Security Board and now with the Council of State Governments, I know that he, by direct observation, has seen the necessity for really assuring the welfare of our children through assuring the security of our entire family.

This Conference has discussed all the elements making for this security. It has considered the economic aspects, the health aspects, the state of education, recreation, and even of religion.

That this Conference is a successful conference no one would doubt who had attended its sessions or who had heard reports of its discussions. But the real success will not be measured by what is done here, however brilliant the discussions have been, however earnest has been our attention to the problems presented. It will be measured rather

by the extent to which we have learned in discussing these problems together what is to be done back in the communities. That is the test. It is the test of the agency in which I am concerned. I go to the local communities to test the efficiency of that agency, to see if those who are entitled to benefits are receiving them promptly. In stimulating community action, in educating our community groups, in mobilizing our community public opinion to focus attention on the problems and on the programs already in existence for the solution of those problems, in considering where these programs are insufficient or inadequately administered, we need to use all the resources at our disposal.

We must depend not only on our public agencies to further the various programs in which we take interest. Private organizations also have a great contribution to make, organizations like the American Legion with such a long history of effective child-welfare work, and our women's organizations and our luncheon and civic clubs, as well as the private and voluntary institutions engaged in administering their share of these programs. We want to expand that work.

All of them welcome efforts to intensify their work by joint and cooperative action. We must promote this joint effort. For this purpose the National Citizens Committee which you are organizing will be an effective tool.

As a public administrator I cannot close without expressing, too, the importance of a strong public service with a high sense of responsibility for the success of any program for children.

This service must be organized effectively and administered by competent people, and to translate the high purpose of this Conference into effective action we need to make this the beginning and not the end of our discussion.

Discussion

Fred K. Hoehler, director, American Public Welfare Association, chairman of the Committee on Organization, presented the following resolution, which was adopted by the Conference: "That the Executive Committee, with the Report Committee of the Conference, be instructed to arrange for the distribution of topical reports for study and discussion in connection with the follow-up program; each report so released to have a foreword describing changes which are the result of discussion at this Conference."

A second motion was made by Mr. Hoehler as follows: "That the Planning Committee be instructed to direct the Report Committee to prepare a final report based on the General Report adopted by the Conference on January 19, to include also material which is the product of discussion on the topical reports from the group meet-

ings of January 18 or submitted by Conference members as such material is deemed suitable by the Report Committee, and further that the final report shall have the objective of presenting to the people of the Nation a comprehensive picture of the facts relating to children in a democracy and the goals toward which attention would be directed, it being understood that the final report shall be published as the report of the Report Committee." This resolution was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The time has now come to discuss the report of the follow-up committee. It will be distributed to you. I think we ought to realize that in this Conference there are persons who are active members of over 150 national organizations, so that from the composition of this Conference the actual personnel for putting these suggestions into effect all over the country is already here. In addition to these members, a number of national organizations that did not participate in the formation of the recommendations have nevertheless been asked to come into the session this morning. These are important national bodies that have large memberships before whom these recommendations can be brought in their local meetings for discussion and for local action in implementing and carrying out such recommendations. We also have here today, and have had throughout the Conference, representatives of the press, representatives of various magazines, and representatives of the radio.

This report will be discussed under the 5-minute rule which we have had previously in all other discussions. Miss Lenroot will read the detailed recommendations so that you may have them once more in your minds.

After the reading of the recommendations by the executive secretary of the Conference, the chairman commented: "I think the suggestion that the Planning Committee select a group of 5, and that that group of 5 take responsibility for organizing a larger group of 25 members for follow-up work, is very wise. In other words, the Planning Committee does not want to take the full responsibility for running and developing this program in the future, but it is willing to take the responsibility of selecting a small group who will put their minds on just the one thing of developing a permanent committee which can carry on."

Discussion of the report of the committee on the follow-up program brought out the following points:

The assistance of the National Citizens Committee should not be limited to the States and the Territories but should include also the Philippine Islands.

Emphasis should be placed upon the importance of securing the cooperation of the motion-picture industry and broadcasting systems in connection with follow-up activities.

"If children are really to function normally, happily, and most efficiently in democratic living, most of the responsibility must rest upon the parents. This function is implicit, but it does not appear to be sufficiently recognized in a specific way. The Conference recommendations call upon agencies and organizations and upon Government departments to do this and that and the other thing, and upon the community and citizens, but they do not with any great clearness indicate what is expected of parents."

Reference was made to the importance of the formation of State conferences to put into effect the findings of the Conference, as provided for in the committee report.

Discussion of the composition of the National Citizens Committee, the members of which are to be selected by the group of 5 to be authorized by the Planning Committee, brought a proposal that representation should be geographic insofar as possible, although State representation would be impossible in a group comprising approximately 25 members. It was suggested that the membership might be 50 or more, with a small executive committee.

The Conference report does not place sufficient emphasis upon the importance of private welfare effort. In the follow-up work boards of private agencies and other citizen groups will be found most effective.

The question was raised as to whether the follow-up program should not make specific provision for follow-up information on orderly and systematic procedure in organizing and promoting Federal and State legislation.

During the coming year probably every State will be having a State conference of social work. Instead of having an individual White House Conference in each of the States, efforts should be made to arrange with State conference committees to have a definite part of the program set aside for consideration of the White House Conference program. Local groups concerned with follow-up activities should consider securing the cooperation of all the civic clubs and the various women's organizations; in the larger communities councils of social agencies are especially important.

"The National Citizens Committee might well consider not only what democracy must do for the child, but what children can do for democracy. Children want a chance to do what they can for democracy by translating its principles in terms of their personal lives. With the

children with whom we work we shall try to share some of the responsibility for putting the program of this Conference across and giving them that part of it that is their burden and their due; that is, helping them to translate into the terms of their own living the principles that are implied in this whole program."

"In all committees and programs set up to follow up the work of this Conference, whether National, regional, State, or county, due consideration should be given to minority representation in the planning and setting up of these programs and committees and in actual participation in the follow-up activities."

Statements made by members of the Conference in regard to participation of organizations in the follow-up program included the following:

IRA V. HISCOCK, professor of public health, School of Medicine, Yale University. It seems to me that this Conference is an exhibition of joint planning and joint thinking which each one of us may carry back to our local and State communities and organizations with a great deal of profit, and I think this organization and the joint planning we have experienced here in approaching this magnificent problem from so many angles is something which needs to be forwarded as the crux of the ultimate success in our joint action in the future. From the standpoint of observing the work of these national health agencies in relation to other national welfare agencies, and from the standpoint of observing the very many National and State agencies interested in education where, for example, in school health education alone we have over 45 national agencies interested, I hope that the new National Conference for Cooperation in School Health Education, which numbers now over 50 national agencies, as well as the agencies aligned with the National Health Council, may be useful in forwarding this movement which has started here, and in helping from the voluntary approach. In the interdepartmental committee we have at the national level an illustration of the value of joint study and joint action which, I think, if applied at the State and local levels, could accomplish great things. In the local health councils, local health committees of our councils of social agencies, we have an instrument which the National Health Council is helping to promote and which may be useful in carrying forward this fine program.

EMMA C. PUSCHNER, director, National Child Welfare Division, American Legion. The American Legion, in its child-welfare program, sets as its ideal a square deal for every child, and it will be our responsibility to bring immediately to the attention of our members, numbering over a million and a half men and women, the information that has come out of this White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, to study that information and give it publicity,

and to utilize it in the establishment, maintenance, and protection of proper standards and facilities for child welfare.

WILLIAM FEINBLOOM, director, Public Health Bureau, The American Optometric Association. Representing the American Optometric Association, I can promise the cooperation of both our National Health Bureau and our State Health Bureau in carrying out the purposes of this Conference and in helping conserve the vision of our children to build up, in the words of our President, our international defense.

Mrs. GEORGE E. CALVERT, State president, Oklahoma Congress of Parents and Teachers. I happen to be here as a parent, representing the Oklahoma Congress of Parents and Teachers. I happened also to be the chairman of the State follow-up committee of the 1930 Conference. We organized at that time a State-wide council of child development and parent education. It is still working, and we feel that the tie-up of all these organizations is important on a State level, going into our study groups and particularly into our parent-teacher study groups, some of which are still studying the children's charter.

Mrs. DOROTHY J. BELLANCA, vice-president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. I am speaking on behalf of labor. Labor has a great stake in this Conference. After all, the majority of the children in our democracy are children of workers—industrial workers and farmers. I can assure you, Madam Chairman and members of this Conference, that I shall give this Conference the greatest publicity in every one of the cities and States where my organization has a membership, and we do have a membership in 32 States of this Nation. I think it is very important to make plans and to work for a better childhood. I am very much concerned about the subversive forces that are working among the young in our Nation.

Rev. H. JOSEPH JACOBI, executive director, Associated Catholic Charities of New Orleans. When I left here in April of last year I was determined that since I was a representative of the Governor, I would do everything that I could to forward the interest of this Conference. So when I went back I suggested to him that he appoint someone officially to head the activities in regard to the Conference. I did not expect that he would appoint me, but he did; so first of all I asked him for his full backing and for his authorization to act in his name and with his authority as the first safe step in doing anything at all. Then to form a State-wide committee I called a small group of four or five people who gave me suggestions for the membership of the State-wide group, and it took us about 2 weeks to decide on that membership. We got together a group of about 25 on the State-wide group and we discussed many of the things that

were brought up here for a State-wide program. We decided to have a research committee and a publicity committee. The research committee concerned itself with the situation in Louisiana, getting together what material we had already and looking out for possible sources of additional information as to our own situation as well as for information that would give us comparable figures and data from the rest of the States. That committee has been working quite regularly since the middle of August.

I think I am very fortunate in knowing that I have a group of people waiting for me back home, people from the educational field, from the religious field, from the health field, from the two schools of social work, from the two universities of medicine, from all groups, from the parent-teachers association, from the religious groups. In addition to that our research committee has gotten up a list of all the organizations that might be interested in the work of the Conference, and in lieu of a State-wide conference, we have agreed that we would send representatives who will have prepared speeches and information at their fingertips, to appear at the annual meetings of the parent-teacher, State education, and State welfare groups, at State conferences of social workers, and at national meetings of the religious organizations.

Mrs. CHARLES W. SEWELL, administrative director, Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau Federation. I should only like to add to what has already been said, the very fine feeling of the Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau Federation, pledging you our support in trying to carry out this program. Many references have been made to the rural problems, and we should like to put at your disposal the offices of the Associated Women and the American Farm Bureau Federation to promote this feeling of good will and cooperation in the program.

Mrs. WARREN L. MABREY, secretary, National Congress of Parents and Teachers. I am here as a representative of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, which has a membership of more than 2¼ million. Our main purpose is that of child welfare. Our membership has been looking forward for many months to the outcome of this White House Conference, and I can assure you of our cooperation and the widespread publicity that will be given to the findings of this Conference and the application that will be made in our parent-teacher meetings throughout our country.

ESTHER COLE FRANKLIN, associate in social studies, American Association of University Women. Those of us who are associated with the educational and civic groups know that whatever progress is made in social legislation and administration can be effective only in the

degree in which we assume our responsibility. I hesitated for that reason to pledge cooperation, because I know the vast amount of education which still needs to be done through our communities. In our welfare program in the American Association of University Women, we welcome the impetus that has been given to the child-welfare programs by this Conference, its discussions, its recommendations, and to the materials which are forthcoming, we offer the cooperation of the American Association of University Women.

MARY ALICE JONES, director of children's work, International Council of Religious Education. The International Council of Religious Education, representing the educational boards of the Protestant denominations in the United States, is giving one of its sessions in its annual meeting next month to a consideration of the findings and recommendations of the White House Conference. Through our National denominational and State organizations, we will give the widest possible publicity to the recommendations for the welfare of children, in which we are all deeply interested.

FRED L. ADAIR, M. D., chairman, American Committee on Maternal Welfare. Miss Lenroot and members of the Conference, I would like to assure you that so far as I can judge from the attitude of the physicians, doctors will not be among the least to help carry on the program outlined in the reports, both the General Report and the topical reports. Doctors have little to contribute except service, but that is extremely important in bringing health to individuals and to communities. There are many things which pertain to health that the doctors cannot provide, such as food and proper housing and hygiene, and many things which pertain to individual as well as community health. The doctors can give advice, but they cannot always provide the means of carrying out the advice. So it is up to other agencies to cooperate with the physicians, and I am sure the physicians will not be backward in cooperating with other agencies.

There was general discussion by members and guests of the Conference on the follow-up program, followed by adoption of committee recommendations as amended.

The Conference sessions closed with the following pledge, proposed by the executive secretary, Katharine F. Lenroot, in response to which the entire membership arose:

The members of this Conference, bearing in mind those who are no longer with us and those who are still here to lend their support to the cause of childhood, with gratitude, reverence, and thanksgiving for the things which they did, the courage which they manifested, and the leadership which they gave during the last decade, resolve to go forward in a manner worthy of them and worthy of the children whom we serve.

After the close of the Conference sessions, the Planning Committee met to take action upon matters referred to the committee by the Conference. Dr. Henry F. Helmholtz presided.

A motion was made and adopted to direct the Report Committee to proceed to revise the General Conference Report as adopted by the Conference, interpreting and coordinating the suggestions made in the course of the discussion and the official action taken by the Conference.

It was voted that, in accordance with the Conference action, the Report Committee be authorized to prepare, with the aid of the staff, and publish a final report based on the General Report, which will include also, in general, materials contained in the topical reports with such additional material collected by the staff as may be added.

It was voted to accept the offer made by Miss Lenroot on behalf of the Children's Bureau to take the responsibility for the actual publication, both of the General Report and of the final report of the Report Committee.

Discussion followed as to methods of creating the National Citizens Committee, authorized by the Conference, for purposes of follow-up. The suggestion that 48 persons, one representing each State, constitute the committee was given consideration. After considerable discussion, it was voted that a committee of 5 be appointed by the Chair, after receiving suggestions from members of the Planning Committee; this committee of 5 to appoint not less than 15 and not more than 25 persons who shall constitute the National Citizens Committee for purposes of a follow-up program. These 5 persons are not to be excluded from membership on the National Citizens Committee but are to be the nucleus of the committee. The National Citizens Committee, when created, is to be entirely autonomous and independent of the Conference administration.

It was voted to authorize the Children's Bureau to take such action as may be necessary, including possibly action by the President, to bring about the creation of a Federal Interagency Committee to assist in the development of the follow-up program.

It was voted that the Planning Committee continue its existence, subject to call by the Organization Committee as may be necessary.

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- Paul Hutchinson, D. D., Chicago, managing editor, The Christian Century.
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- Jacob Kepecs, Chicago, executive director, Jewish Children's Bureau of Chicago.
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GENERAL REPORT ADOPTED
BY THE CONFERENCE

January 19, 1940

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FOREWORD

The White House Conference on Children in a Democracy met for its second session in Washington, D. C., January 18 to 20, 1940. This session was the culmination of months of planning and preparation by the Planning Committee of 72 members, the Report Committee, the staff, and members of the Conference. Many members served as consultants to those responsible for the development of reports on various aspects of the relation between children and our American Democracy. Reports submitted in advance were reviewed by the entire membership, which had been somewhat augmented during the months between the initial session, April 26, 1939, and the January meetings, so that it now comprises 676 persons. Thus the Conference, organized at the suggestion of the President of the United States, was truly a citizens' enterprise, in which those representing many types of professional and civic interest, practical experience, and political and religious belief joined together to consider the aims of our American civilization for the children in whose hands its future lies.

The January sessions had but two aims—consideration of and action upon the reports prepared under the direction of the Report Committee, and discussion of the ways in which the Conference findings could be translated into action. The report presented herewith is the General Report adopted by the Conference after full consideration in group meetings and in general session. The Report Committee has followed faithfully the instructions of the Conference to incorporate in

the report the changes agreed to in the general session, in accordance with authority granted by the Conference in the following motion, which was adopted unanimously:

That the Conference adopt the report as amended, as a whole, subject to editorial changes by the Report Committee, and that the report be published as the General Report of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy.

The Report Committee was authorized also to prepare a final report, based on the General Report, the topical reports with suggestions as to their revision made in group meetings January 18 and in correspondence, and other material available to the committee. This final report will not be completed for some months. In the meantime the topical reports, with changes based on discussion in group meetings, will be made available for study and discussion.

As Chairman of the Conference and on behalf of the Planning Committee, I wish to acknowledge the great debt which the Conference owes to the Report Committee and its chairman, Homer Folks, the members of the Conference who have given so freely of their time and thought, and the Conference staff.

FRANCES PERKINS,
Chairman.

P R E F A C E

The Report Committee, to which was entrusted the preparation of reports to be submitted to the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, was appointed in March 1939, shortly after the organization of the Conference. This committee, of 27 persons, is widely representative of different professions and interests affecting the welfare of children, including medicine, public health, education, social service, child guidance, religion, public administration, agriculture, and general civic interests.

A modest fund having been placed at the disposal of the committee, it selected a research staff comprising the persons whose names are listed elsewhere. Under the leadership of Philip Klein, of the New York School of Social Work, who has served as research director, the staff prepared a series of documents on the several fields of interest within the scope of the Conference. Each document, containing factual material, opinions, suggestions, and recommendations, was submitted to a group of consultants with special experience and judgment in the subject. After revision in the light of these consultations the documents were submitted to the Report Committee for study, revision, and action.

On the basis of these statements and other material assembled by the staff, the Report Committee prepared a general conference report, which was submitted to the Conference at its meeting January 18. The recommendations in the report were discussed in groups meeting on the same day, and their suggestions for revision were reviewed by the Report Com-

mittee. The whole report, with changes approved by the committee, was considered, amended, and unanimously adopted by the Conference in general session January 19.

Great credit is due to the staff as a whole, and in particular to its director, for discriminative collection and summarizing of material, careful interpretation of subject matter, drafting of the topical statements and of the General Conference Report, and patient revision in the light of protracted discussions on the part of the Report Committee.

In addition to its own staff, the Report Committee received valuable help from staff members of various Federal bureaus and agencies, of whom some gave regular service for considerable periods. The experience, opinions, and conclusions of these Federal agencies having to do with one or another phase of the well-being of children, were freely placed at the disposal of the staff and the committee.

Special acknowledgment is due to the Chief and the members of the staff of the Children's Bureau, who were at all times at the service of the Conference. Without their continuous and able service the work of the Conference could not have been brought to a successful conclusion.

To the members of the Report Committee the chairman wishes to record his very sincere appreciation of their patience, deep interest, objectivity, and resourcefulness in arriving at a final group judgment on highly important subjects, often controversial in nature, in which in each case only a few of the Report Committee members were themselves expert. It is a notable tribute to their deep interest in the subject that in every instance full agreement was reached. The report as a whole stands as a product in the making of which every member of the committee had an equal responsibility. Clarity and conviction are furthered by the absence of minority reports.

The report contains 98 recommendations, which grew out of the experience and considered judgment of the staff, consultant groups, and members of the committee. It is submitted by the Conference to the American people in the hope that it may, in some degree, clarify the present situation of the children of America and stimulate increased interest and greater effort toward a more complete realization of the ideals of the American people for their children—the children of the American Democracy.

HOMER FOLKS,
Chairman of the Report Committee.

CHILDREN IN A DEMOCRACY

• The Goals of Democracy

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE on Children in a Democracy, the fourth in a series of children's conferences held during the past 30 years, addresses itself to the interests of all the children of the Nation and to every aspect of child welfare, including home life, material security, education, health, and general preparation for the responsibilities of citizenship.

At the first meeting of the Conference on April 26, 1939, President Roosevelt said:

Democracy must inculcate in its children capacities for living and assure opportunities for the fulfillment of those capacities. The success of democratic institutions is measured, not by extent of territory, financial power, machines, or armaments, but by the desires, the hopes, and the deep-lying satisfactions of the individual men, women, and children who make up its citizenship.

The people of the United States have talked and lived democracy for a century and a half. We have never felt that it has reached its full stature nor that it has operated satisfactorily in every field of human endeavor. We have not always agreed as to the exact meaning of democracy, but we have never lost our belief in certain fundamental democratic principles. These fundamentals include, above all, freedom of the individual as it is inscribed in our fundamental law, with its Bill of Rights assuring freedom of speech, press, religion,

and public assembly. While the individual is becoming less significant as a unit in our elaborate system of production and distribution, his worth and integrity remain the cornerstone of our democratic philosophy.

These principles we wish to preserve for our children, and we hope so to educate them that they may improve upon and transmit this heritage to coming generations.

The development of science and invention, and the growth of industry have created new and complex conditions, in which the freedom of the individual is endangered. Legal safeguards alone are not sufficient to insure liberty, unless the individual also has a reasonable degree of economic opportunity. This is less easily provided in an industrial society than under pioneer conditions with unlimited free land. Thus we have come to include in our basic concept of democracy the principle that in the pursuit of happiness all men should have as nearly equal economic opportunity as their unequal natural endowment and the slow process of economic change permit.

Hard, uncomfortable facts have been accumulating which show that far too many American children belong to families that have no practical access to economic opportunity. These families, living in actual distress or in constant insecurity, are trapped in circumstances from which their own knowledge and initiative cannot extricate them. Not merely thousands but millions of children live under these handicaps, which they can escape only by outside help. And this is happening not by economic necessity but in a country blessed with splendid natural resources and a high level of public intelligence.

In addition to the striving for individual freedom and economic opportunity the developing national ideal includes, with new emphasis, capacity for cooperative life as a test of successful democracy. Thus varied forms of cooperative activity, both

local and on a national scale, are developing and strengthening the traditional American spirit of neighborly cooperation and civic responsibility.

In educating our children we desire, therefore, to give them freedom to express their natural interests, to enjoy life, and to gain that self-reliance which is hardly less important today than it was to the early American pioneer. We wish to rear them so that they may successfully participate in our democratic way of life. We seek to develop in them an appreciation of the expanding forms of civic responsibility and an understanding of the nature of social life and the satisfactions of cooperative enterprise.

The complexities of modern life require a structure of government and a social and economic order which will combine maximum individual freedom with maximum opportunity for every man to find a place among his fellows, to achieve self-support, preserve self-respect, and render community service. Events of recent years have proved that the preservation and further development of the better life in a democracy cannot be left to chance; they do not just happen. Plans must be made and adjusted to meet changes in the national economy, in international relations, and in scientific knowledge.

These changes require far-reaching modifications in our educational system, in family life, in local government, and in the relative responsibilities of local community, State, and Nation. They call for more awareness of the Nation as a unit and of goals national in scope.

Is the realization of such national standards and aspirations compatible with continued freedom? We believe that it is. In fact, this development is a true continuation of the process by which the Constitution was formed and adopted, bringing the powers and resources of the Nation of 1787 into line with the responsibilities and problems of that time. Since that

date the process has given us a rich and growing body of social legislation, a series of amendments to the National Constitution, and many Federal services of fundamental importance. It has given us an increasingly interwoven system of State and Federal services in the conservation of natural resources, in public education, and in public health and welfare.

Can a free people by conscious effort and thoughtful planning make certain that the needs of all their children will be met? Can they rear them so that their capacities will be developed for cooperative action in exercising the responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy? Can they bring up children who in turn will maintain and cherish their freedom? We believe they can, and in the means for accomplishing these ends we find the agenda of this Conference and of the new decade.

Reviewing the Record

The decades before 1930 were a period of great progress in the United States. Through many ups and downs—"cycles" in the economist's way of speaking—prosperity was increasing, the standard of living was rising, and a unified national consciousness was growing. Perhaps public attention through this period was centered too much on technical advances and the marvels of a mechanized civilization. Even in fields of more strictly human services technical progress was emphasized, as in medicine, public health, psychology, mental hygiene, governmental administration, and education. But in some of the less tangible ways also great strides were made toward better social conditions in the United States. These were real achievements expressing an enhanced appreciation of human values.

As crude exploitation of the resources of a virgin land and of the opportunities presented by a growing population slowly gave way to the growth of a more settled American culture,

efforts and funds were invested in the general welfare in generous and increasing amounts. A growing social conscience was becoming evident in the activities of individuals and groups, and in the functions of governments.

The enactment of social legislation is one example of this process. It included protection of women and children in industry and the establishment of public agencies to deal with labor, public welfare, health, workmen's compensation, and mothers' pensions. The labor movement was gaining in strength, despite many setbacks, and wages and conditions of work were slowly improving.

Public expenditures increased for parks, museums, schools, playgrounds, libraries, medical services, and research in such diverse fields as agriculture and medicine. School authorities conducted extensive and fruitful experiments in kindergartens, vocational preparation, and the development of secondary education. Underlying much of this progress was general interest in the new psychology with its illumination of human motives and its tolerant understanding of the vagaries of human behavior.

The creation of many new agencies to serve the public, as distinct from those designed for profit or livelihood, is also evidence of the new emphasis on human values in the decades before 1930. Social agencies to help people in trouble were established in large numbers and under many forms and auspices. They were supported by public funds, voluntary contributions, and the resources of many new "foundations."

The present Conference comes after 10 years of economic depression unprecedented in length and of great intensity. A large section of the population was left without income for months or even years. Since the economic soundness of a country underlies a continuance of its freedom, the development of its culture, and the quality of its public services, we

might have expected that the decade following 1929 would exhibit the worst conditions ever suffered by the people of this country, and either a retrogression to pioneer hardship or an attempted escape by the way of dictatorship through which some European countries have looked for salvation.

It is to the everlasting credit of this democracy that despite the strains of the past decade we not only have maintained our social institutions and public services but have notably improved some of them. The resiliency of this commonwealth and its ability to avoid any serious loss of morale under long-continued hardships have proved it to be a stable form of government adaptable to a machine-age civilization and capable of meeting new human needs by democratic methods.

Basic problems of agriculture, banking, finance, conservation of natural resources, employment, economic security, housing, and long-range economic stabilization have been examined during this period and remedial processes have been set in motion.

The health of the Nation has been studied and appraised; medical science has been brought more extensively into public service. Death rates have been reduced, tuberculosis has been more nearly brought under control, the health of children has been improved. Medical services have been expanded; public-health administration has been mobilized through local, State, and Federal agencies for steady progress toward building a healthy Nation. More has been learned about health dangers and deficiencies, the means of reducing some of them have been found, and programs of action have been established.

Education, recreation, and the problems of youth have been studied by public and voluntary bodies on a national scale and with a realism often enhanced by local participation and initiative. Nation-wide programs for the benefit of youth have been established.

But the purpose of this Conference is not to boast of the achievements of our democracy in prosperity and depression, but rather to press forward to achievements worthy of the freedom and wealth of our Nation. It is especially gratifying to note how fast and how consistently the general standard of living and the national income of this country have risen through the decades despite the interruptions of depressions. It is heartening to review the progress made and to observe the stability of our democratic institutions under strain. But a special obligation of this Conference is to point out the shortcomings and deficiencies that still exist. For every proof of progress that betokens our abilities, there is evidence of lags unworthy of our resources and our intelligence.

In some ways the financial collapse of 1929 and its aftermath of prolonged depression are evidences of this type. Even though there were danger signs of economic unsoundness—soil erosion, mortgage foreclosures, bank failures, wild financial speculation, concentration of financial control and increase of monopoly, growing unbalance between productive capacity and consuming power—still the year 1929 appeared to be a high plateau of prosperity, until it suddenly terminated in a precipice of tumbling destruction.

The fact that the prosperity of the twenties rested on economic practices which led to the stupendous losses of the thirties was an indication that in our preoccupation with the wonders of science we had neglected to develop the institutions necessary for its sound utilization. It is evident that much progress has been made in this respect since the drastic lesson of 1929. It is equally evident that despite all that has been done to meet the conditions of the depression, there are still great areas of distress among our population to which this Conference is bound to call attention, since they endanger the welfare of millions of children.

Great inequalities have been discovered throughout the country in the available opportunities for children and youth in rural areas, in low-income groups, among the unemployed, among migrant workers, and in various minority groups. Honest inquiry has uncovered conditions unworthy of a democracy with resources like ours and dangerous to its future.

Because this democracy has shown itself bold and capable of dealing with a catastrophic depression without loss of courage or determination, the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy feels free to call public attention to the many conditions that still are hazardous to children and to the future of our democracy. It has no misgivings about this Nation's capacity to face unpleasant facts, its will to take on new and growing responsibilities, and its readiness to accept great burdens—for the goal is clear and abundant resources are at hand.

Our Concern, Every Child

The White House Conference on Children in a Democracy speaks to all the people for all the children. There are some 36 million children under 16 years of age in the United States, and about 5 million more aged 16 and 17—altogether nearly a third of the population.¹ Each year about 2 million babies are born. For numbers alone, if for no other reasons, these voteless fellow citizens who hold the national future in their bodies and minds are necessarily a first interest of the Nation.

Concern for the child begins before his birth in concern for his parents; it continues until the child reaches maturity. During this period of childhood, roughly 20 years, it is possible to distinguish certain needs of the child as an individual and other needs which are identical with those of his family or

¹ As estimated by the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Social Security Board with the advice of the U. S. Bureau of the Census. The number of children under 16 is their estimate as of July 1, 1938; the number 16 and 17, as of July 1, 1937.

his community. The child receives or should receive services from many individuals, groups, and agencies in addition to his own family. Each has its special task; none can be performed successfully without regard for the others. However, the best intentions of one group have often been nullified by ignorance of the work of another, or by the interference or inefficiency of others. Too often people have failed to recognize the simple truth that the child cannot be broken up into parts—one for the parent, another for the teacher, one for the public official, another for the playground, and still another for the church. The child is an indivisible whole as he grows from infancy to manhood and must be planned for and served as such.

The Child in the Family

The vast majority of children are members of families. Their world opens up in a family, and they continue to spend most of the hours of the day in or about the home, even after school and playmates have begun to claim a large place in their thoughts and activities. Home and family are the first condition of life for the child. They are first in importance for his growth, development, and education.

The child has food and shelter if his family has a home and provides food.

He is content and happy if he is well, if he has parents and others to love and be loved by.

Education begins in the home, where he learns to speak, to walk, to handle things, to play, to demand, to give, to experiment.

Religious faith is imparted in the family long before he goes to church.

Adventure and safety, contentment and rebellion, cooperation, sharing, self-reliance, and mutual aid are family experiences.

The Family as the Threshold of Democracy

In spite of the great changes which have occurred in family life, especially in cities, there is still no more far-reaching educational institution than the family. It can be a school for the democratic life, if we make it so. What does the family teach? What services does it inaugurate? What bearing do these have on community services—schooling, religious guidance, recreation, employment, medical care, social services, and protection against exploitation?

Giving the child food, shelter, and material security in general is a primary task of the family. In the family there is opportunity also to teach the elements of personal hygiene, health, and the prevention of disease. Relationships with the doctor, the hospital, and other community services may be established. When the child reaches the school and the church, for example, he is likely to esteem them in accordance with the values which the family has placed upon them.

Less conspicuous but more important by far is what the child acquires through the family in regard to his relations with his fellows. Standards of conduct may be formed by fear or by example; they may be enforced by authority or by persuasion. It is in the relations of members of the family to one another that the quality of the American democratic way may find opportunity for its most conspicuous realization. Self-sufficiency, enterprise, initiative, and cooperation are virtues sought in children as well as in adults. The democratic family life consists of give and take, with freedom for each individual to express his own interests at the same time that he is tolerant and helpful to others.

Children are helped to develop these standards and capacities by sharing in family discussions and duties. Essential foundations are thus laid for participation in a democratic society.

How can the family make the best of its opportunities as the first school in democratic life?

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

- 1. It is essential to democracy that self-respect and self-reliance, as well as respect for others and a cooperative attitude, be fostered. These characteristics may be best acquired in childhood if the relationship among members of the family is of a democratic quality.*

2. *The democratic principle should be applied not only within the family but also by the family and its members in their relationships with others within the home and at church, club, place of employment, and elsewhere.*

3. *Parent education should be extended as a useful means for helping to bring about this type of family life.*

Families and Their Incomes

A necessary condition of the family's capacity to serve the child is an income sufficient to provide the essentials of food, clothing, shelter, and health, as well as a home life that means for the child education, happiness, character building.

Parents, being human, differ from one another in competence, character, capacity to plan, energy, industry, resourcefulness. For this reason some parents will achieve a fine home under adverse conditions while others will fail to do so under favorable circumstances. These differences among parents are to be found in high places and low, among the wealthy and the poor. They involve good fortune for one child or an added handicap for another. Whatever these differences may be, some degree of material security is essential for the life and happiness of every family.

This was once an agricultural country. In 1820, 93 percent of the people were rural. Money incomes were extremely small, but many of the necessities for health and happiness, according to the standards of the time, were supplied by the farm and community without cost. By 1930 only one person in four lived on a farm, a smaller proportion in villages, and more than half in cities, where many families cannot even see a green tree without paying carfare. City costs of living not only are high in terms of the price of certain essential goods but also include items that in the country are "free as air."

Families are smaller than they used to be. The average, once nearly six persons per family, now is barely four. Rural families are larger than city families but are steadily decreasing in size.

Our standard of decent living has been raised to conform with advancing knowledge. Our ancestors could drink polluted water, could lose a high percentage of mothers by child-bed fever, could bury one baby out of three, without feeling rebellious against society, because no human being knew how to prevent those calamities. But suffering and death that we know how to prevent are an outrage against decency, not to be suffered in meek submission but to be fought with every new weapon our generation has discovered. One may find some satisfaction, of course, in comparing the plane of living of American families, both urban and rural, with the levels of existence of the past or with the existence of many millions of people in other parts of the world. Despite this, however, there is widespread actual need. Many children, as well as many adults, lack sufficient food and adequate shelter, and many millions of Americans lack needed medical attention.

With the decrease in family size and the notable development of science and industry, it might be assumed that all families today would be assured of income sufficient for their needs. Estimates based on the number of children in families at different income levels in 83 cities show that one-half to two-thirds of the children in American cities live in homes where the family income is less than the equivalent of \$1,260 for a family of four.² There is ample evidence, although it is not

² The number of children in families at different income levels was computed from data of the *National Health Survey, 1935*, in 83 cities in 19 States (U. S. Public Health Service). In another study (*Intercity Differences in Cost of Living, March 1935, 59 Cities*, by Margaret Loomis Stecker; Works Progress Administration Research Monograph XII, 1937) \$1,261 was found to be the average cost for a family of four of a level of living defined for the purpose of that study as a "maintenance level of living." This study was made in 59 cities of more than 25,000 population, containing 60 percent of the total population in communities of more than 25,000 population in the United States. All regions were represented.

exactly comparable with these data, to indicate that the economic situation of farm families is no better.

The failure of income to keep pace with the needs of the family is illustrated in chart 1. The per capita income decreases sharply as the family increases in size, dropping to an average of \$221 for each person in families of seven or more persons, in contrast to \$774 for each person in 2-person families.

It is clear that the safety of our democratic institutions requires that as many families as possible be enabled to earn a decent income on a normal self-supporting basis. It is clear also that measures are required to supply substitute income where there is none or where income is insufficient to meet family needs.

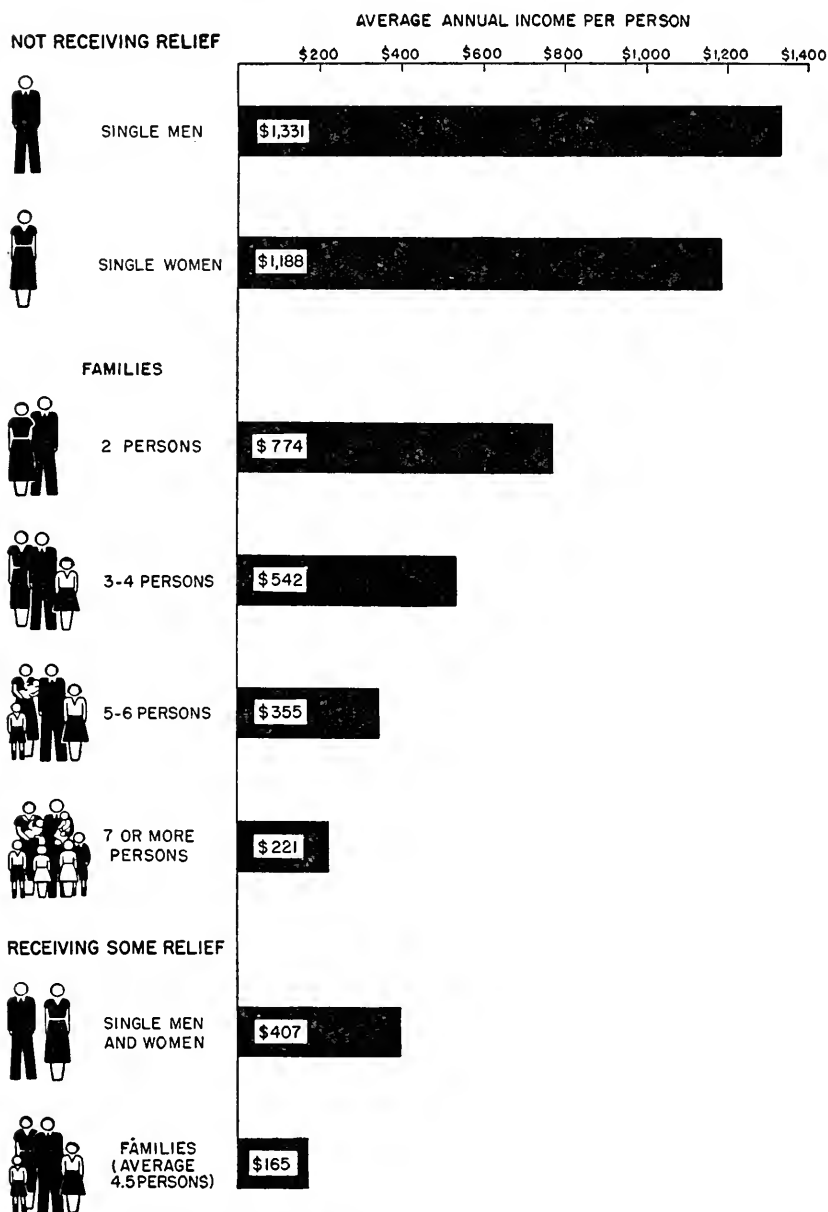
Twenty-five percent of the people not on relief obtain their incomes from farming and nearly 40 percent depend on wages in industry and trade and in other nonagricultural occupations.³ Basic economic measures must be concerned, therefore, with agriculture and with wages. Farm income becomes available when agricultural products find a market, and wage income is available when industrial products find a market. Farm prices and wages should be sufficient to meet the basic needs of the worker and his family.

The basic economic problem of our children is the economic problem of the Nation—to find a sound balance of wages, prices, and financing that will provide a growing purchasing power to industrial workers and farmers and profitable investment for capital. The changing economic structure of modern civilization and of national and world markets calls for measures, directed toward these ends, of a kind different from those that were thought suitable for an earlier economy.

³ For description of occupational classifications see *Consumer Incomes in the United States* (National Resources Committee, 1938), table 9, p. 26, and p. 44.

Chart 1

PER-CAPITA INCOME 1935-36, BY SIZE OF FAMILY



Source: Consumer Incomes in the United States, p. 46. National Resources Committee. Washington, 1938.

The average income of farm families, after allowance is made for the value of home-consumed produce, is far below the average of the Nation.⁴ This income has been especially depressed and uncertain under conditions that followed over-expansion during the World War. Far-reaching adjustments in agriculture have been needed and continue to be needed to keep the agricultural income from falling lower.

Increased industrial employment would undoubtedly improve the market for farm products, but special measures for agriculture would still be necessary. Among these are adequate provisions for soil and forest conservation as a permanent national policy; strengthening of Federal agencies for agricultural credit; special measures designed to achieve a better balance between agricultural prices and industrial prices; efforts directed toward increasing nonmonetary farm income through agricultural research and agricultural extension service; services to assist migration and resettlement of farm families from depressed or submarginal areas; and social-security laws adapted to the needs of agricultural workers.

Industrial workers, as well as farmers and farm laborers, require measures for assuring incomes adequate for their family needs. Among measures appropriate to wage earners are minimum-wage legislation and laws safeguarding the right of collective bargaining. Measures like these tend to make employment more stable and to protect the income of the workman and his family.

In order to enable families in all income groups, especially those at the lower income levels, to spend their incomes more effectively, education in consumer purchasing should be expanded. Efforts of public and private agencies to improve the

⁴ For farm-family income see *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, table 8, p. 25, and table 18B, p. 99. For figures on levels of living in farm families (household facilities, diet, and so forth) see *Agricultural Outlook Charts, 1940* (Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Bureau of Home Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1939).

marketing of consumer goods and to provide consumers with more information to help them purchase more effectively should be encouraged.

In addition to measures which provide employment under the ordinary conditions of production through the use of private capital investment, there has been a steadily growing demand in recent years for public works through which employment might be provided from public funds. This has come about in part as a result of the growing realization of the need to conserve and develop national resources and an appreciation of the value of public provision for sanitation, highways, education, recreation, public health, hospitals, and other public services. Under conditions of modern life several million men annually must be employed in supplying our society with needed public works, and for them public works should be so conducted as to afford a dependable source of employment. In addition, it is clear that whenever private industry cannot find profitable use for all the available workers, the time, skill, and morale of the unemployed should be salvaged. This can be done in large part by increased provision for public employment.

While there has been a gratifying improvement recently in business and employment, there is little doubt that for some time there will continue to be a large volume of unemployment and periods of expansion and contraction in private employment. Unemployment is the major economic problem of the present day. There is much unemployment even in most prosperous times and students of the problem are in agreement that the level of unemployment has been rising the world over.

The main reliance for providing employment in our economy must be placed upon private employment. Every effort should be made both to impress industry with its responsibilities in

this respect and to help it to meet these responsibilities to the fullest possible extent. At the same time it needs ever to be borne in mind that for some years to come many people who are both willing and able to work cannot be employed unless private employment is supplemented by a well-considered and well-administered public-work program. It seems necessary that a system of appropriate and adequate work projects for the unemployed, as well as extensive public-work programs, be part of a continuing national policy, adjusted to the fluctuations of private employment.

Work programs, including both construction operations and the provision of services, should be adapted to the needs of the rural as well as the city population, should provide especially for the needs of youth, and might well develop or expand various types of services administered through existing agencies to promote the health and welfare of children and adults. A flexible, large-scale, low-cost housing program under Federal leadership in cooperation with State and local governments is desirable not only to supply urgently needed low-rent dwellings for low-income families but also to create useful employment, provide an outlet for idle capital, and improve community life.

The income of many families has been made more adequate and secure by the development of various types of social insurance. The economic-security measures incorporated in the Social Security Act of 1935 have become an accepted part of our national life. Their old-age-benefit provisions have been transformed by amendments enacted in 1939 into a type of family insurance through old-age and survivors benefits. Extension of the coverage of unemployment compensation and old-age and survivors insurance, liberalization of the benefits provided, and provision for insurance against loss of income through temporary or permanent disability are opportunities

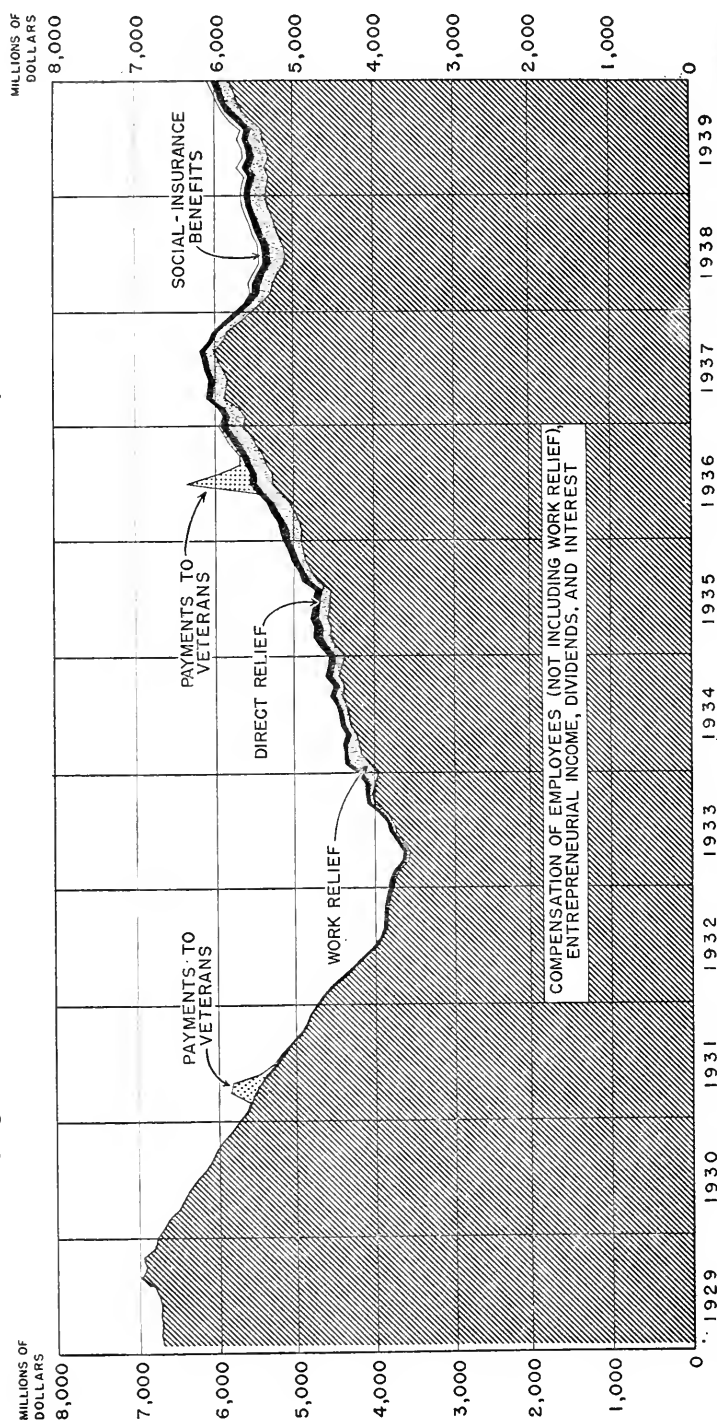
for further advance. Workmen's compensation laws in most States are in need of strengthening as to coverage, benefits, and methods of administration.

Although social-insurance benefits, public assistance, work relief, and general-relief payments made during the past decade have been of great significance from the point of view both of the social policies involved and of the number of persons benefited, they constitute in aggregate amount but a small proportion of the total income payments received by the American people, as is indicated in chart 2.

Most of these economic-security measures are already a part of the programs of State and Federal governments. They will become more effective as public opinion attains greater economic understanding and social insight.

Reference to public-work and housing programs and to extending, liberalizing, and supplementing the various forms of social insurance should not convey the impression that these are the only measures which can and should be developed to cope with the problem of unemployment. There are many other ways in which government can contribute to its solution; for example, better training of youth for the needs of industry, vocational information and guidance, retraining of workers who have lost their opportunities for employment through prolonged unemployment or technological changes, improved placement services, and research and planning for the development and conservation of our natural resources. These measures are primarily the responsibility of government. Likewise, much more can be done by industry to provide regular employment, to create jobs, to find suitable work for those thought to be misfits, and to perform more fully than it has in recent years the function of taking risks which in our economic system belongs primarily to industry.

Chart 2
MONTHLY INCOME PAYMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1929-39



Families in Need of Assistance

During the process of adjustment to a changed economic situation many families and children are left without an assured livelihood because of unemployment, disability, low wages, or other factors beyond their control. It is becoming the established American policy that these families be given adequate economic assistance. This economic assistance has been called by various names, such as general relief, public assistance, work programs, old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, and allotment of surplus commodities.

The number of families requiring economic aid is so great that the standards of assistance affect the standards of American living as a whole. Between 6 and 8 million children in 1939 were in families dependent for food and shelter on various forms of economic aid. The following table ⁵ shows the approximate number of children involved:

TYPE OF ASSISTANCE	Children in families receiving economic assistance	
	March 1939	August 1939
Work Projects Administration wages.....	4,500,000	3,000,000
General relief, State and local.....	2,400,000	2,000,000
Aid to Dependent Children.....	720,000	751,000
Farm Security Administration grants.....	300,000	170,000

It is common knowledge that the assistance given to many families is not enough to permit a good home for the children.⁶

⁵ Table prepared by research staff of the Conference from information obtained from Social Security Board, Work Projects Administration, and Farm Security Administration. The major sources of financial assistance, Federal, State, and local, are included in these figures. The estimates on general relief and aid to dependent children were obtained from the Social Security Board. The number of families receiving aid from private agencies is unknown, as is the number receiving only surplus commodities. A large number of farm families at low income levels receive small loans for farm equipment and advice on home and farm management from the Farm Security Administration. The number of children under 16 in families receiving these loans and services was estimated to be 1,175,000 in March 1939 and 1,150,000 in August.

⁶ Average amounts per case for general relief for December 1939 ranged from about \$3 to about \$36. *Social Security Bulletin*, February 1940, p. 58.

It is common knowledge, too, that there are families in need which receive no assistance.⁷ The Conference recognizes that economic aid must continue to be given from public funds to a considerable number of families; that local, State, and Federal governments should share the responsibility; and that new, hitherto untried methods may have to be introduced and earlier measures extended.

In 1935 the Federal Government assumed responsibility for providing employment for employable persons, chiefly through the Works Progress Administration. Although it has not actually cared for all so-called employables, its share of the total national relief burden has continued to be much larger than the aggregate burden carried by the States. Some States have been able to meet general-relief needs for those not designated as employable or not cared for by other forms of economic assistance. Other States, however, have found it impossible to carry this part of the burden. This has resulted in uneven and frequently extremely low standards of relief, as well as neglect of many families in need of aid. Unless some other way, not yet suggested, can be found, the Conference believes that the Federal Government will need to take steps to strengthen general-relief systems in the States, including standards of administration, through financial participation in these programs.

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. Measures for unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, and old-age and survivors benefits,

⁷ One source of such knowledge is *Some Aspects of the Relief Situation in Representative Areas of the United States*, a mimeographed report prepared by the American Association of Social Workers in May 1939. This report contains the following statement: "Some sections, mainly in the South and Southwest, report 'no general relief' to employables regardless of the degree of need, and that aid to unemployables, if given at all, is limited to sporadic grants in emergencies. In these areas Federal surplus commodities are the only aid available to thousands of needy families."

which are of special importance in relation to children, should be extended as to coverage and liberalized as to benefits provided, and insurance against loss of income through temporary or permanent disability should be developed.

2. The Federal Government should adopt a policy of continuing and flexible work programs for the unemployed, operated and primarily financed by the Federal Government and carried on in cooperation with State and local governments. The amount of work provided in each State should be in proportion to the number of needy unemployed. As supplementary to this program and in no way displacing it, the Federal Government should provide aid to the States for general relief covering all persons in need who are not in the categories now the objects of special Federal concern. Federal aid for general relief should be adjusted in each State to the economic capacities and relief needs of that State.

3. States should provide substantial financial assistance to local units to make possible adequate public assistance and relief. State assistance should be adjusted to need and financial capacity of the local units.

4. Aid to Dependent Children should be further developed with the objective of enabling each eligible family to provide adequate care for its children. Rigid limitations on the amounts of grants to individual children or families should be removed from State and Federal laws. Necessary appropriations should be made by State and local governments and by the Federal Government. Federal aid should be equitably adjusted to the economic capacities and the needs of the several States.

5. State laws making legal residence a prerequisite for economic aid should be made uniform and reasonable, with no more than a year required for establishing residence. The Federal Government should take full responsibility for developing plans to care for interstate migrants

and transients, such plans to be administered in cooperation with the States but with the Federal Government assuming complete financial responsibility. The States should assume the responsibility for State residents who are without legal local residence, with such aid as may be made available by the Federal Government for general public assistance.

6. In all systems of economic aid safeguards should be provided to assure staff selected on the basis of merit, adequate in number and qualifications to administer the benefits and to provide or obtain for each family the services needed.

7. Provision should be made for continued study of the problems of economic need and the operation of the various forms of economic aid in the light of changing conditions.

Families and Their Dwellings

The words "home" and "family" are often used interchangeably. Perhaps they should be so used. When a dwelling is really a home it is because of the life that the family breathes into it.

The character of a dwelling is important to every member of the family, but especially to children, who spend so much time in and near the house and are peculiarly susceptible to environmental influences. The design, construction, and surroundings of a family dwelling should therefore be developed with adequate reference to children's needs.

For all persons the dwelling should at least afford shelter that is safe against the elements; it should have sunlight and air; it should be safeguarded against fire and against impure water and improper disposal of sewage and garbage.

The dwelling should be well designed and large enough to offer such separate sleeping accommodations as the age and sex of its occupants may require; it is desirable that there should

be separation of sleeping, living, and cooking quarters, and opportunity for privacy.

A dwelling in which children are brought up should meet other specifications also. The single-family house with its own yard is unquestionably the best type. Indoor and outdoor play space, at least for children not old enough to reach recreation places unaccompanied by an older person, and accessibility to school, doctor, church, library facilities, recreational opportunities, and neighbors are important.

A suitable dwelling place is therefore a matter not only of the design of the structure itself but also of the character of the immediate surroundings and of the planning of whole neighborhoods for mutual protection and advantage and for freedom from traffic hazards and other dangers and demoralizing influences.

Farm, village, and urban dwellings present different kinds of problems. Farm and other rural homes house half the Nation's children under 15 years of age. Many of these children are members of large families. When the farmer chooses a home he considers the land and equipment, with which he must earn his living, as well as the dwelling. His limited resources of necessity may go into care of machinery and stock rather than into improvement of the house. Modern conveniences are usually expensive to install on the farm. Accessibility to community facilities constitutes a peculiarly difficult problem in rural areas.

Contrary to general opinion, many farm houses are in effect "slum" structures, and this is particularly true of a large number of rented farms whose occupancy changes often. For example, 1 million of the 3 million farm-tenant families moved in a single year.⁸ Upkeep of the dwellings is usually

⁸ The *Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, 1937* (p. 7) showed that in the spring of 1935, 34.2 percent of the 2,865,000 tenant farmers of the Nation had occupied their farms only 1 year.

poor. Far below even this range are the shelters (or camps) of migrant families.

The Farm-Housing Survey made in 1934, covering 620,000 farm dwellings, showed that 18 percent were more than 50 years old, and only 16 percent were less than 10 years old. Less than 12 percent had bath tubs, 8 percent had central heating, 18 percent had a home plant or a power line furnishing electricity, 17 percent had running water in the house.⁹

In the city certain facilities such as indoor flush toilets, baths, and central heating are essential. This is especially true in multiple-dwelling structures. A recent study¹⁰ showed that of some 8 million urban dwellings 15 percent were without such toilets, 20 percent were without baths. One of every six dwellings needed major repairs or was unfit for use.

The undesirable dwellings in the main were occupied by families with low incomes. Sixty times as many "unfit for use" dwellings were occupied by city families paying \$10 or less per month in rent as were occupied by those paying \$50 or more; twenty times as many "in need of major repairs" were occupied by the \$10 group as by the \$50 group.¹¹

The housing situation cannot be corrected overnight. Because of underbuilding during the depression years, there is an accumulated numerical shortage of more than 1½ million dwellings in cities and villages, in addition to about 2½ million

⁹ From an unpublished report by the Bureau of Home Economics, based on *The Farm-Housing Survey* (U. S. Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication No. 323, Washington, D. C.), directed by the Bureau of Home Economics, in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Engineering, Extension Service, and Office of the Secretary, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

¹⁰ *Urban Housing; a summary of real-property inventories conducted as work projects, 1934-36*, by Peyton Stapp, p. 4. Works Progress Administration [now Work Projects Administration]. Washington, 1938. The data were obtained in 203 urban communities, which included more than two-fifths of the urban families in the United States. New York City was not included in the figure for dwellings in need of major repairs or unfit for use.

¹¹ The statements in this paragraph are based on compilations from surveys for 22 of the cities.

worn-out houses in need of replacement.¹² Some 3 million farm dwellings fail to meet minimum health and comfort standards.¹³ In the past, private capital, loans, and traditional ways of financing have provided the funds used in the construction of dwellings. The old ways obviously are not sufficient either for community planning or for financing the housing of low-income families. Since the solution is not likely to be an early general increase in family income great enough to make low-rent housing attractive to private enterprise, it is clear that local, State, and Federal governments must take some responsibility and leadership in this field. Fortunately the past decade has been an epoch-making period in the history of housing. It has seen local, State, and Federal governments enter this field, especially for low-income groups, to an extent that gives promise of notable achievement.

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. The Federal Government should continue and expand its program of promoting slum clearance and new housing for low-income groups through further authorization of Federal loans and appropriations for Federal grants to local housing authorities.

2. The Federal Government should give attention to rural areas where half of the Nation's children live. Federal housing programs for rural areas should be adapted to rural conditions and should include grants and loans for construction of new homes and repair of substandard dwellings when their condition warrants, assistance in providing safe water supply and sanitation, and encouragement of electrification.

3. State and municipal governments should enact legislation to provide loans and grants for public housing and

¹² *Introduction to Housing, Facts and Principles*, by Edith Elmer Wood, p. 70. U. S. Housing Authority, Federal Works Agency. Washington, 1939.

¹³ Estimate based on information in *Farm-Housing Survey*.

to authorize cooperation with the Federal Government in housing programs.

4. Better housing for families of moderate income should be promoted by safeguarding credit for housing purposes to assure low interest rates and long-term amortization, thus serving to stimulate private building and home ownership; by encouraging cooperative effort of industry and labor to reduce building costs; and by encouraging housing cooperatives and other agencies in which the motive of profit is subordinated to that of social usefulness.

5. Adequate regulatory laws should be enacted, and they should be enforced by competent inspection departments in every city. Such departments should have budgets sufficient for enforcement of laws and regulations concerning construction, management, maintenance, and repair of dwellings, and demolition of buildings when necessary. Local governments should modernize their building, sanitary, zoning, and housing codes to conform to present knowledge of sanitary and other requirements and to eliminate needless cost.

6. Public-assistance budgets should include provision for housing adequate for family needs. In each community rent allowances should be based on the rental cost of such housing.

7. Continuous research by public and private agencies should be part of housing programs. Appropriations should be made for this purpose to governmental agencies participating in housing.

8. Since an enlightened public opinion is essential in housing, as in every other socially important field, citizen committees should be organized in communities to promote public interest, understanding, and support. Housing facts and problems should be made widely known to the public through formal and informal education.

Religion in the Lives of Children

The child, whether in the family, the school, the church, or leisure-time activities, needs to have a personal appreciation of ethical values consistent with a developing philosophy of life. Increasingly as he matures, he needs to see life whole and in its complex relationships. Here the potent influence of religion can give to the child a conviction of the intrinsic worth of persons and also assurance that he has a significant and secure place in an ordered universe.

Democracy seeks to reconcile individual freedom with social unity. In the development of the children of a democracy a proper balance must be maintained. Historically religion has succeeded in maintaining such a balance by placing its emphasis upon the worth of the individual and at the same time upon human fellowship.

The primary responsibility for the religious development of the child rests upon the parents. In the family he is first introduced to his religious inheritance as he is introduced to his mother tongue. Here the foundations are laid for the moral standards that are designed to guide his conduct through life. A child's religious development is fostered and strengthened by participation in the life of the family in which religion is a vital concern. Responsibility for the religious growth of children and youth is shared by the church and other social organizations that are concerned with their guidance.

Despite the various efforts made by church groups to educate their children in religion, the religious needs of many children are imperfectly met at the present time. It has been estimated that approximately one-half of the children and

youth in the United States receive no religious instruction outside the home.¹⁴ President Roosevelt has said, "We are concerned about the children who are outside the reach of religious influences and are denied help in attaining faith in an ordered universe and in the Fatherhood of God."

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. Parents, teachers, and others responsible for guiding children should be ever alert to the importance to the child of facing specific life situations. Such situations may provide the occasions for vital and creative religion to function. Adult leaders of children should be persons of the utmost personal integrity and of the highest ideals who have themselves a vivid appreciation of spiritual values.

2. Whole-hearted recognition and appreciation of the fundamental place of religion in the development of culture should be given by all who deal with children and by representatives of the press, radio, and motion picture. Religion should be treated frankly, openly, and objectively as an important factor in personal and social behavior. When religion enters normally into the subject matter of courses such as literature, the history of ideas, philosophy, psychology, and the social sciences, the attitude referred to should be maintained.

3. Further exploration should be made of the use of religious resources in personal counseling as it relates to the welfare of children.

4. Churches and synagogues need to emphasize the common ends which they share with one another and with other community agencies. Religion should be one of the unifying factors influencing the divergent elements that constitute the community. Although they hold to different creeds, the churches should constitute a bulwark

¹⁴ Estimate for 1926 of the Department of Research of the International Council of Religious Education.

against factionalism and antagonism in local communities. Churches and synagogues should recognize their responsibility to the community and contribute to mutual good will and cooperation on the part of all groups by discovering and emphasizing their common objectives, by helping people to understand and appreciate the loyalty of other groups to their own convictions, and by utilizing their resources for the welfare of the community. They should seek every opportunity to cooperate with other community agencies in specific projects which contribute to the welfare of children.

5. Practical steps should be taken to make more available to children and youth through education the resources of religion as an important factor in the democratic way of life and in the development of personal and social integrity. To this end the Conference recommends that a critical and comprehensive study be made of the various experiences both of the churches and of the schools in dealing with the problem of religious education in relation to public education. The purpose of such a study would be to discover how these phases of education may best be provided for in a total program of education, without in any way violating the principle of the separation of church and State. To conduct such a study a privately supported nongovernmental commission should be created which will have on it representatives of national educational and religious educational organizations, and other representatives of the principal religious bodies.

Educational Services in the Community

Formal education centers in the school and extends to other agencies, such as the library and the recreation center. Play is an essential part of every child's education. Reading may be learned in school but it soon becomes the means of independent recreation and cultural growth. Thus the library, the school, and the recreation center join in a comprehensive educational system. No hard and fast lines separate the functions of these agencies.

Educational programs, whether they refer to class instruction, to recreation, or to reading, should be available equitably to all children. To approach this equity is an essential part of the program of action proposed by this Conference. A primary responsibility of our democracy is to establish and maintain a fair educational opportunity to which every American child is entitled. This should be a Nation-wide goal, sought through all the thousand varieties of local conditions and traditions. In this there is a value beyond direct educational benefits. Every American child should be able to feel pride and patriotism because his country assures educational opportunity for him and for every other child.

We should remember, too, that changes in our national life, in economics and culture, often require modifications in the scope, content, method, and management of educational service. The scope of education is gradually being extended to age limits above and below the traditional 6-to-16 period. The content of education should deal with the personal, social, and economic issues of the day; its method should take account of scientific discoveries in child growth, child care, and the

learning process. And the management of the educational services should seek always to combine maximum efficiency with the requirements of individual initiative and freedom.

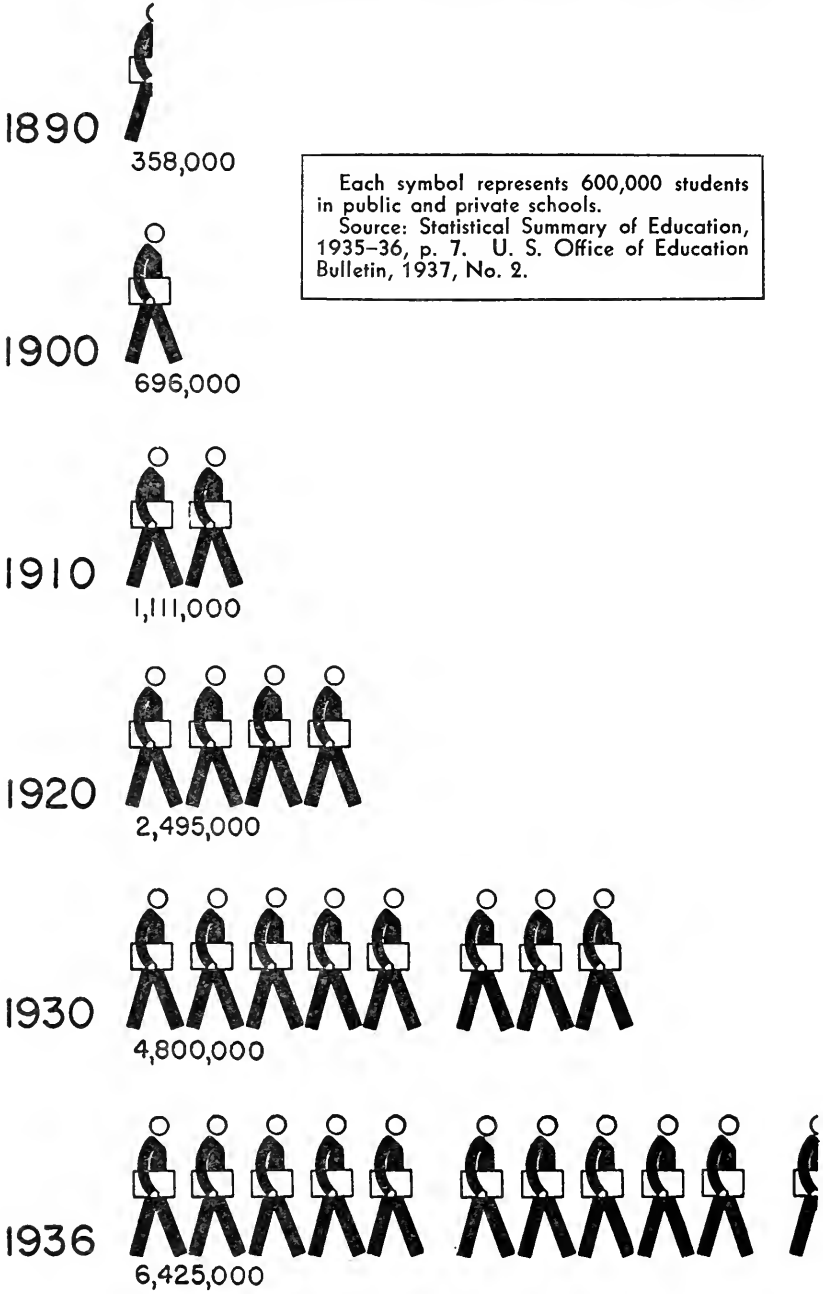
Schools

The fundamental purposes of the American schools are sound. Their successes and shortcomings in attaining these purposes are well known. The Advisory Committee on Education, the United States Office of Education, the Educational Policies Commission, the American Youth Commission, and many other agencies have reported the present situation and recent changes. Those who established this Republic recognized the relationship between an educated electorate and representative government. The principle of providing educational opportunity for every child was recognized in State constitutions as the several States were admitted to the Union. This principle has gradually assumed the substance of reality. Elementary education now reaches well over 90 percent of all children of appropriate ages. The enrollment in secondary schools has doubled or nearly doubled in every decade from 1890 to 1930,¹⁵ as is indicated in chart 3. During the past decade this growth has continued. Secondary education is rapidly becoming, both in public opinion and in actual fact, a part of the general educational opportunity which all children may expect and enjoy. Yet a substantial proportion of the adults in the United States did not finish elementary school. Nearly a million children of elementary-school age are not in school, and school opportunities for hundreds of thousands of children of migrant and rural families and of Negroes are often deplorable or entirely lacking.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Statistical Summary of Education, 1935-36*, p. 7. U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1937, No. 2. Washington, 1939.

¹⁶ Advisory Committee on Education: *Report of the Committee, February 1938*, pp. 9-11, 31-34, 133. Washington, 1938.

Chart 3
SECONDARY-EDUCATION ENROLLMENT, 1890-1936



National resources for increasing opportunities and for reducing inequalities in education are not lacking. Nevertheless, there are States in this country that compared with other States, have twice the population 5 to 17 years of age in proportion to adults 20 to 64 but only one-fifth the amount of income per child of school age.¹⁷ The resources of many school districts and even of entire States and regions cannot keep pace with the needs of the school population nor provide suitable standards of educational efficiency.

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. Units of local school attendance and administration should be enlarged wherever necessary in order to broaden the base of financial support and to make possible a modern well-equipped school for every child at a reasonable per-capita cost.

2. Substantial financial assistance should be granted by every State to its local school systems for the purpose of equalizing tax burdens and reducing educational inequalities.

3. An extended program of Federal financial assistance to the States should be adopted in order to reduce inequalities in educational opportunity among States. Because the minority groups have proportionately more children than others and live to a greater extent in areas with the least resources, the principle of Federal aid to States for services affecting children is extremely important for their welfare.

4. The supreme educational and social importance of individual traits should be recognized throughout the educational system. An educational system that truly serves a democracy will find no place for the philosophy or the methods of mass production.

¹⁷ *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*, by Newton Edwards, pp. 111, 154-155. American Council on Education. Washington, 1939.

5. *Schools should give increased attention to the educational needs of individual children, including those who are physically handicapped, mentally retarded, or socially handicapped; these needs should be met with minimum emphasis on the handicap.*

6. *The professional education of teachers should be enriched by study of the principles of child development, the role of education in an evolving social order, and the significance of democratic procedures in school life.*

7. *Teachers and other workers in all branches of education should be selected and retained in service on the basis of professional qualifications alone. They should be adequate in number to permit them to give attention to the needs of each individual child.*

8. *School systems should provide nursery school, kindergarten, or similar educational opportunities for children between the ages of 3 and 6.*

9. *Local school systems should provide free educational opportunities, in accordance with individual needs, for youth up to 18 or 20 years of age, in preparation for higher education, in basic and specialized vocational training, or in general educational advancement.*

10. *Schools should make available to young people, while in school and after they leave school, systematic personal and vocational guidance and organized assistance in job placement, in cooperation with public employment services.*

11. *School health supervision and health and safety education should be made more effective so as to protect the health of the child and to give him better understanding of the principles and practices of social and community hygiene.*

12. *Schools should assume further responsibility for providing wholesome leisure-time activities for children and their families, and new school buildings should be planned and equipped with these functions in mind.*

13. *Education for civic responsibility should be emphasized with the aim of developing personal integrity and intelligent loyalty to democratic ideals and institutions. For this purpose the child's learning experiences should include participation in the activities of community life, on a level appropriate to his degree of maturity.*

14. *Schools should cooperate with other community institutions and agencies that serve the child. Close cooperation with parents is especially important.*

15. *Research divisions should be established by local school systems wherever possible and by State departments of education. Budgets for the United States Office of Education should be increased to permit the extension of research and related services. Planning of educational policies and programs at all levels should be based on research.*

16. *The traditional concern of American education with ethical values as well as mental and physical development should continue to be the fundamental obligation of the schools. It is desirable that the teaching and administrative staffs should maintain among themselves and in their attitudes toward children the processes and viewpoints characteristic of a democratic society. Such attitudes will thrive only in an atmosphere of freedom to teach and freedom to learn.*

Leisure-Time Services

The educational importance of play and of the constructive use of leisure time has been given substantial recognition only since the turn of the century. Consequently the provision of opportunity for recreation and informal education still lacks full acceptance as a public responsibility and the existing facilities lag far behind desirable standards.

All children and youth need experience through which their elemental desire for friendship, recognition, adventure, crea-

tive expression, and group acceptance can be realized. Normal family life contributes much toward meeting these basic emotional needs. Voluntary participation in informal education and recreation under favorable conditions also contributes greatly. Such activities help to meet certain developmental needs—the need of congenial companionship with the opposite sex, the need for emotional development and a healthy independence, and other needs that arise at different stages in the individual's progress toward maturity. They furnish, finally, an important means whereby the child can express his need for the development of motor, manual, and artistic skills, for contact with nature, for the socializing experience of group life, and for responsible participation in community life. Much recreation, perhaps the best of it, is enjoyed in family units or is provided under circumstances that serve both young and old.

The provision of opportunities for the entire population, developed through cooperative, intelligent planning, is the concern of both public and private agencies. Private agencies provide a medium by which groups of citizens through voluntary effort can identify, interpret, and seek to meet special community needs. This is especially important in areas of activity which are yet unrecognized by the larger community. Private agencies usefully emphasize responsibility and participation on the part of volunteers, and bring volunteer and professional leaders into creative association. Both public and private agencies are experimenting in new areas of need and in new methods of work. Private agencies often prepare the community for larger public effort and for the transfer of services from private to public auspices.

Local, county, State, and National parks, school and community playgrounds, and, more recently, the recreation projects of the W. P. A. have also helped to give recreation a significant place in the total educational enterprise.

Within any community, State, or region opportunity for leisure-time activities must be planned. If it grows haphazardly, with school, parks, and private agencies acting independently, the program may be wasteful and retarded. Planning, on the other hand, may lead to coordination of services and facilities. It also helps to bring about public recognition of the fact that recreation for young and old requires leadership, equipment, and trained personnel.

Cognizance must also be taken of the vast increase in, and growing importance of, recreation under commercial auspices. This is not limited to entertainment and cultural opportunities, such as are provided by radio, motion pictures, and the theater. It includes also many opportunities for sports and active recreation. Commercial recreation is usually available only to those who can afford to pay for it, but it is largely influenced, in both quality and quantity, by the character and amount of the demand. Educational agencies can play a role in promoting intelligent choice and appreciation of these forms of recreation.

There are distinctive recreational needs and opportunities in rural and in urban surroundings. The natural surroundings of the countryside enrich the life of the rural child. Organized recreation, on the other hand, has been more available to city children. Leaders in the field of play and recreation, from the earliest innovators to present administrators, have emphasized the need for balance between organization and spontaneity in the development of the play life of the child. Whether in city or country, organized programs under competent leadership have been found of importance for the formation of democratic habits and attitudes.

Recreation for children in a democracy should reflect the values that are implicit in the democratic way of life. This means, among other things, a program that emerges from the

life of the people; a leadership that responds to the vital needs and interests of children; a relationship with people in the community that involves them in responsible participation both in planning and in management; and a form of administration that is democratic and elicits the values of group experience.

With these considerations in mind the Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. The development of recreation and the constructive use of leisure time should be recognized as a public responsibility on a par with responsibility for education and health. Local communities, States, and the Federal Government should assume responsibility for providing public recreational facilities and services, as for providing other services essential to the well-being of children. Private agencies should continue to contribute facilities, experimentation, and channels for participation by volunteers.

2. Steps should be taken in each community by public and private agencies to appraise local recreational facilities and services and to plan systematically to meet inadequacies. This involves utilization of parks, schools, museums, libraries, and camp sites; it calls for coordination of public and private activities and for the further development of private organizations in providing varied opportunities for children with different resources and interests. Special attention should be directed toward the maximum utilization of school facilities for recreation in both rural and urban areas.

3. Emphasis should be given to equalizing the opportunities available to certain neglected groups of children, including—

Children living in rural or sparsely settled areas.

Children in families of low income.

Negro children and children of other minority groups.

Children in congested city neighborhoods.

Children just leaving school and not yet adjusted to outside life, with special emphasis on unemployed youth.

Children with mental, emotional, or physical handicaps.

4. Public and private organizations carrying responsibility for leisure-time services should assist and cooperate in developing public recognition of the fact that recreation for young and old requires facilities, equipment, and trained personnel.

5. Schools and other educational and civic organizations should promote intelligent choice and appreciation of various forms of commercial recreation.

6. Because of the growing significance of radio and motion pictures in their impact on children and youth, social organizations and entertainment industries, insofar as they are concerned with the leisure time of children, should collaborate wherever possible in order to provide programs that will contribute to the sound development of children.

7. A privately supported nongovernmental national commission on recreation should be created to study leisure-time needs and resources and to make recommendations concerning the development of recreation and informal education.

Libraries

Little argument is needed to convince the American people of the importance of public libraries. Whether for leisure, for education, for vocational advancement, for research, or for the dissemination of knowledge, the library is an indispensable public service. The free public library is a characteristic institution of democratic life. Most public libraries are municipal, town, or county institutions. A smaller number are

partly endowed and partly dependent upon public appropriations. School libraries have become a cardinal feature of modern schools. In recent years many traveling libraries and branch libraries in isolated areas have been developed.

Nevertheless, according to figures collected by the American Library Association in 1938, more than 18 million persons under 20 years of age are still without local public-library service. Of these young persons more than 17 million live in rural areas. The best type of library to serve rural areas is the county or regional library. Last year 400 of more than 3,000 counties in the United States were served by such libraries.¹⁸

More libraries are needed both in schools and for general public use in all regions of the country. The shortage is especially acute in rural areas, where there is little hope of obtaining them through local funds.

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. The States should encourage and assist in the extension and development of local public-library service and give financial aid for the maintenance of such service. In rural areas provision should be made for traveling libraries to reach isolated homes and communities.

2. Federal grants to the States for general public education should be available for school libraries. Special Federal grants should be made available for extension of library service to rural areas.

3. Libraries should provide for special collections and personnel to serve children. Provision should also be made for material and for library advisory service for parents on subjects relating to child care and training.

4. Libraries should be staffed by personnel trained and qualified specifically for this work.

¹⁸ Report of the Library Extension Board of the American Library Association for the Year Ending July 31, 1939. Bulletin of the American Library Association, Vol. 33, No. 9 (September 1939), pp. 552-557. The association estimates that the number of counties now served is 450.

Protection Against Child Labor

Child labor is still a serious problem in this country in spite of progress in its control under State and Federal laws. Although the number of employed children has decreased to a marked degree in recent years, children under 16 still cut short their education to go to work, or engage in work during vacation and outside school hours under conditions detrimental to their fullest physical, mental, and social growth. According to estimates of the National Child Labor Committee, at least half a million children under 16 are still gainfully employed. For the still larger number of young workers between 16 and 18 years of age existing safeguards for protection from hazardous or otherwise detrimental conditions of employment are far from adequate.

The development of public opinion favorable to the extension of the period of school attendance for children and the protection of young persons from unfavorable employment conditions after they leave school has resulted in restrictive and regulative legislation, both State and Federal. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, with its basic 16-year minimum age, now governs the employment of children in industries producing goods for interstate commerce. But the great majority of child workers, particularly those under 16 years of age, are in industries which are strictly intrastate in scope and therefore not subject to the Federal act. These industries also are less well regulated by State law than factory work, which to a large extent is subject to the Federal act because of its interstate character. Only 12 State laws set a basic minimum age of 16 for employment. There are still large areas of

child employment, such as industrialized agriculture, street trades, domestic service, and industrial home work, where much exploitation exists that escapes legislative control and where special administrative problems make effective regulation difficult of achievement. Many young workers are subject to undue industrial health and safety hazards. The effectiveness of the protective standards that have been set up by law is often lessened by lack of adequate administrative machinery.

Prevention of the exploitation of children and youth in premature and harmful labor must be accompanied by provision for educational training, open to all children, during the years left free from wage earning. This education should recognize the changing conditions of employment, and adaptations that are needed in all educational programs as described in the sections on educational services and on youth and their needs. Such education, moreover, should be adapted to the individual needs of the pupils and should equip them with the knowledge, skills, and habits that they will need in making adjustment to the industrial and social problems of the modern world.

The fact cannot be too strongly emphasized that the work of children in certain phases of agriculture is different today from what it was when children were mainly working for their parents or cooperating in harvesting a neighbor's crops. With the development of intensive cultivation of specialized crops there has grown up the practice of using large numbers of children in industrialized agriculture under conditions which in many instances differ little from those of "sweatshop" employment and which require the same kind of safeguards as those found necessary with reference to industrial employment.

The Conference endorses the following requirements, now widely accepted as minimum for protective legislation:

1. *A minimum age of 16 for all employment during school hours and for employment at any time in manufacturing or mining occupations or in connection with power-driven machinery.*

2. *A minimum age of 16 for employment at any time in other occupations, except as a minimum age of 14 may be permitted for limited periods of work after school hours and during vacation periods in agriculture, light non-manufacturing work, domestic service, and street trades. Determination of desirable standards for legislation governing child actors requires further study.*

3. *A minimum age of 18 or higher for employment in hazardous or injurious occupations.*

4. *Hours-of-work restrictions for persons up to 18 years of age, including maximum hours, provision for lunch period, and prohibition of night work, the hours permitted not to exceed 8 a day, 40 a week, and 6 days a week.*

5. *Requirement of employment certificates for all minors under 18, issued only after the minor has been certified as physically fit for the proposed employment by a physician under public-health or public-school authority.*

6. *At least double compensation under workmen's compensation laws in cases of injury to illegally employed minors.*

7. *Minimum-wage standards for all employed minors.*

8. *Abolition of industrial home work as the only means of eliminating child labor in such work.*

9. *Adequate provision for administration of all laws relating to the employment of children and youth.*

The Conference also makes the following recommendation:

10. *Ratification of the child-labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States should be completed immediately.*

With reference to provision of school facilities as it bears on child labor, the Conference recommends the following:

11. Compulsory school attendance laws should be adjusted to child-labor laws, since school leaving and child labor are closely related. Schooling during at least 9 months of the year should be both compulsory for and available to every child up to the age of 16.

12. It is the obligation of the community to provide a suitable educational program for all youths over 16 who are not employed or provided with work opportunities.

13. Financial aid from public sources should be given whenever necessary to young persons to enable them to continue their education even beyond the compulsory-attendance age if they wish to do so and can benefit thereby.

Youth and Their Needs

The transition from childhood to youth is gradual. Boys and girls from 16 to 20 years are on the threshold of life as adults, when they will carry responsibility not only for their own lives but for the life of the Nation as a whole. They are entering the period when decisions must be made in regard to the kinds of lives they will live and the kinds of social and political programs they will endorse by their votes and their opinions. The circumstances and state of mind of youth are, therefore, of utmost importance not only for their own future but for the future of our society.

What does youth expect? Traditionally, in the United States, the young person out of school looks forward to a job of some kind in which there is opportunity for advancement; he looks forward to self-support and independence, to the establishment of a family, and to participation in the social and civic life of the community.

What is the situation of youth today? The American Youth Commission, in its leaflet, Program of Action for American Youth, estimates, on the basis of the unemployment census of 1937, that one-third of the unemployed workers in the United States are young persons between 15 and 25 years of age and that about 4 million youth of these ages are out of work. The rate of unemployment is higher for youth than for any other age group. Even in fairly prosperous times, young persons have difficulty in getting started at useful employment.

What does youth have in the absence of job opportunity and self-support? Many are members of families that are not

self-sustaining and therefore have few resources. School programs are not sufficiently adapted to the needs of youth, in spite of great progress in the enlargement of secondary-education facilities to the point where the number of young persons enrolled in secondary schools represents nearly three-fourths of the population 14 to 17 years of age.¹⁹ Recreational facilities also are insufficient for the young person approaching adulthood.

School programs for older age groups should be thoroughly reorganized in order to meet the cultural and vocational needs of a large proportion of young people not adequately served now. Broader conceptions of vocational preparation are particularly important. Training for specific skilled jobs can be only part of a suitable program. There are relatively fewer job opportunities in the skilled and unskilled fields than formerly, and more in semiskilled occupations. The increase in openings for employment in service trades calls for greater social adjustment and adaptability. It is of primary importance that young people receive general preparation that will be of practical value to them in seeking and in beginning employment under the conditions and relationships which actually prevail in industry and business today. Schools should help young people to obtain a general understanding of social and economic problems and to acquire work habits suited to the kind of opportunities which will be available. Schools should take particular pains to introduce young people to the cultural and educational opportunities that can be continued after they leave school.

Vocational preparation, general and specific, and employment services are not in themselves enough. The way must be open to actual employment. The Civilian Conservation

¹⁹ Figures in *Statistical Summary of Education, 1935-36* (U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1937, No. 2, p. 12) show this proportion to be 67 percent during the school year 1935-36. The corresponding estimate for 1938, according to the Office of Education, is 72 percent.

Corps and the National Youth Administration, both initiated and conducted by the Federal Government, are designed to meet some of the employment needs of youth. They have made outstanding contributions by programs combining work and education. An enrollment of 300,000 is authorized in the C. C. C. On its work program for out-of-school youth, the N. Y. A. gave part-time employment to an average of about 235,000 in 1939. There have been few comparable activities under State or local governments. Thus at a given time probably less than one-seventh of the young persons out of school and out of work are being aided through these constructive efforts. The C. C. C. and the N. Y. A. must be regarded as pioneer experiments showing what needs to be done on a much larger scale, rather than as services actually covering all the present needs of youth.

The situation of youth calls urgently for action.

The Conference believes that the cost of constructive programs will be less than the ultimate cost of the neglect of youth.

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. *Programs of general secondary education based on changes in industrial demands and opportunities and contributing significantly to responsible citizenship, wholesome family life, constructive use of leisure time, and appreciation of our cultural heritage should be developed.*

2. *Vocational preparation, guidance, and counseling services adapted to modern conditions and the changing needs of youth should be extended in the school systems, and when carried on under other auspices, should be conducted in cooperation with the schools.*

3. *Placement services for young workers should be staffed by properly qualified and professionally trained workers, with full cooperation between the schools and the public employment services.*

4. *Federal, State, and local governments should provide work projects for youths over 16 not in school who cannot obtain employment. Such work should be useful, entailing possibly the production of some of the goods and services needed by young people themselves and other unemployed persons. Civilian Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration activities should be continued and enlarged to serve more fully the purposes for which these agencies were created. There should be further experimentation in part-time work and part-time schooling.*

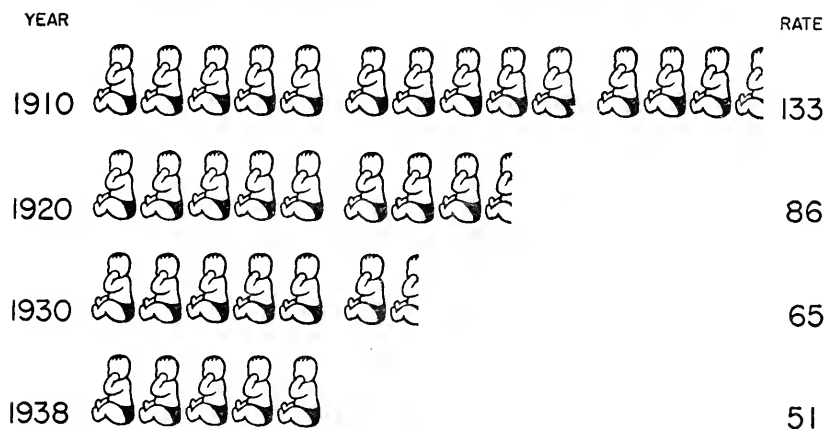
No person should be arbitrarily excluded from work programs or other programs for youth because of a delinquency record.

Conserving the Health of Children

Medical science has made notable progress during the past decade in knowledge of how to reduce illness and deaths of mothers in childbirth, how to prevent deaths of infants, and how to feed and protect the child during the first critical years of his life. Knowledge of how to immunize children against

Chart 4

INFANT MORTALITY IN THE UNITED STATES



Each symbol represents 10 deaths per 1,000 live births.

Source: Reports of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

certain diseases of childhood has increased, as has better understanding of nutrition. New chemicals have been discovered to treat some of the diseases that have taken a heavy toll of child life in the past. The close relation between physical and mental health has been emphasized and this relationship is being brought home to parents, to the benefit of child and family.

The progress achieved during the present century in reduction of the infant death rate is shown in chart 4.

The Two Fronts

There are two great fronts in the preservation of health and treatment of disease, whether we speak of adult or child. On the one front general measures are applied to prevent well people from becoming ill; on the other, patients are treated to restore them to health and to limit the spread of disease. On both fronts organization and administration are needed, as well as technical knowledge, in medicine and in kindred sciences. Otherwise knowledge is sterile; and we already know more than we actually put to use.

General preventive measures are of many kinds. Some are almost impersonal, like control of water supply, safe sewage disposal, and sanitary inspection. In these doctor and patient are not directly involved. Other measures do involve medical practitioners, doctor, dentist, and nurse, even though there is no patient yet to treat. Among these are immunization and the prevention of diseases due to nutritional deficiency. Diphtheria and smallpox as dread menaces of childhood are rapidly diminishing through immunization; improved nutrition is gradually reducing the high incidence of rickets, scurvy, and pellagra. Many individuals with tuberculosis are discovered by such methods as large-scale testing of adolescents before the disease passes beyond easy control. Akin to this type of preventive work is health education, whether by routine health and dental supervision by physician, dentist, and nurse or by lectures, demonstrations, publications, school instruction, or other means of public information. Preventive measures are communicated, person to person, by those having professional responsibilities. The participation of the general public converts this information into health measures.

When illness strikes, the patient becomes the center of attention and recovery the immediate goal. "Medical care" then takes a prior place to prevention and public-health administra-

tion. Yet even here prevention and administration continue to be important. In most communicable diseases the treatment of the patient cannot be divorced from control of their spread. In diphtheria, tuberculosis, or syphilis the patient is also the spreader of disease, and treatment goes hand in hand with control and prevention. It is impossible, for example, to deal with tuberculosis as a public-health problem without caring for the tuberculous patient as a sick person seeking recovery. The physician who applies splints to a child's leg in the early stages of an attack of infantile paralysis is practicing preventive as well as curative medicine. Much of the most effective education of the general public is achieved through the instruction in hygiene that is given to patient and family by doctor, nurse, and medical institution.

All this may be said with especial force and pertinence of the child, whose health from before his birth and through his adolescence depends as much on general public-health measures and health education of the mother as it does on medical and nursing supervision, immunization, and preventive treatment in the home, at school, and in general community life.

Conditions Favoring Child Health

A health program for the American child during the coming decades will have important new assets. For example, we know more about the health, growth, and development of the child than ever before. Therefore our practical objectives are higher, particularly as to nutrition, protection from infection, and preventive care of sight, hearing, teeth, and so forth. We know how far we have advanced but also how far we lag behind in the application of available medical knowledge, especially in the less favored parts of the country and among certain groups of the population. There are resources that can be more fully drawn upon for child health: school, clinic,

health department, hospital, physicians, dentists, nurses, nutritionists, teachers, and social workers especially trained in child care. These are available through local, State, and Federal governments and to some extent through private agencies.

Another factor favorable to the health and general welfare of the child has been a great improvement in public health. The preservation of many adults from preventable disability and death has held together hundreds of thousands of families and kept intact homes for numbers of children who would otherwise have been orphaned or exposed to serious deprivations. No other achievement is so significant in this connection as the prevention of death and disability from tuberculosis. This disease picks off especially persons in the prime of life, when as earners and housewives they are the mainstays of the family. There were 31,000 fewer deaths from tuberculosis in 1938 than in 1928 in the United States. Sixty percent of this saving of lives represents persons between 20 and 45 years of age. It should also be noted that the maternal death rate declined from 69 per 10,000 births in 1928 to 44 in 1938. Thus are the parents of many children spared and many homes preserved.

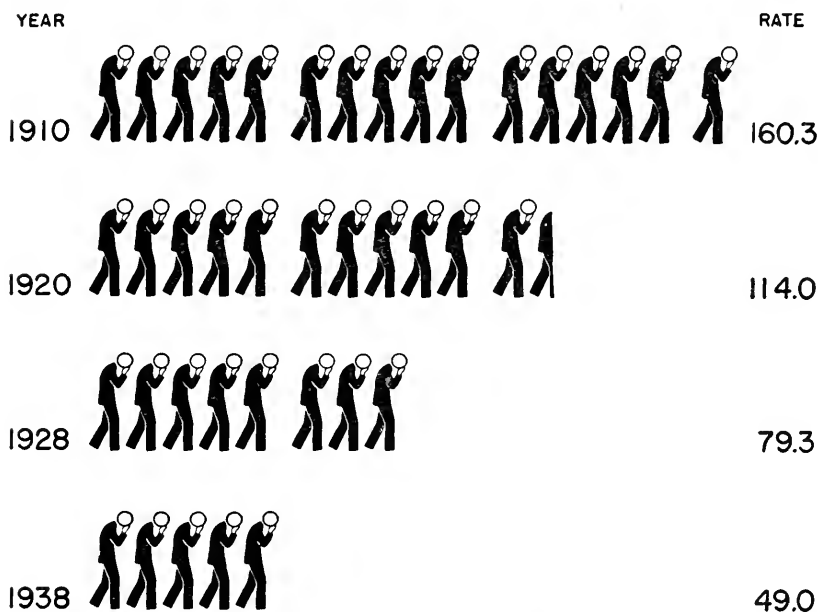
Chart 5 shows the decline in the death rate from tuberculosis among persons of all ages since 1910.

The steady development of medical science and of public-health administration is opening up new and important areas of prevention of illness and mortality among adults. Most important perhaps is the recent vigorous Nation-wide movement for the control of syphilis, which has taken on larger proportions in a brief period than any other similar movement. More recent and less advanced, but extremely important, is the effort to apply newly acquired knowledge to the control of pneumonia. This effort is already bearing demonstrable and even notable results. The means for the control of cancer are

still limited in range and type, but promise tangible results in the avoidance or postponement of deaths from cancer of certain types. All these health movements are in reality protectors of families and their children.

Chart 5

MORTALITY FROM TUBERCULOSIS, 1910-38, UNITED STATES



Each symbol represents 10 deaths per 100,000 population.

Source: Reports of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

Objectives for the Coming Decade

At different stages in the growth of the modern public-health movement emphasis was given to different goals or measures. Today the real dangers to the health of America are not plague, cholera, and yellow fever. In preserving the health and safety of the child attention today is concentrated largely on the following objectives:

Reduction in maternal deaths.—Since the mother is the most important protector of the child's health, she requires care before, during, and after childbirth. Each year until very

recently some 14,000 mothers have died from conditions directly due to pregnancy and childbirth, despite remarkable progress in obstetric science and skills and in public-health measures. In the past few years a substantial improvement has been made in this respect; but in 1938 there were still nearly 10,000 maternal deaths, and there is urgent need for improved care in many areas. The decline in the rate for the Nation as a whole masks rates for certain States that are two or three times as high as the lowest.²⁰ It is estimated that at least one-half of these maternal deaths are preventable.

Reduction in deaths of infants.—Notwithstanding the progress that has been made in reducing mortality in the first year of life, there are still each year some 50,000 deaths of infants in the second to twelfth month of life, of which many are preventable. There has been but slight decline in the death rate of infants under 1 month of age, and no decline in the death rate on the first day of life. There are still some 75,000 stillbirths each year, and 70,000 deaths of infants before they are a month old.²⁰ One-third of the deaths of young infants and a considerable proportion of the stillbirths are believed to be preventable.

Provision of doctors and nurses.—Sufficient qualified professional care is not available to meet the needs of the American people, and the distribution of such care is uneven among geographical areas and economic strata of the people. A few favored urban areas are well supplied. Many rural areas are most inadequately provided with doctors, dentists, and nurses; some are practically without access to their services. Each year nearly a quarter of a million mothers are not attended by a physician at childbirth; about a quarter of a million newborn babies lack the benefit of medical care in the first, most critical days of life.²⁰ In thousands of homes no skilled nurse

²⁰ U. S. Bureau of the Census: Vital Statistics, Special Reports.

is available to help the physician at childbirth. This situation continues beyond childbirth. Lack of medical attention among children is reported in illnesses due to acute communicable and respiratory diseases which disable the child for a week or longer. The proportion of such illnesses not receiving medical treatment varies in different economic groups and sizes of communities from one-fifth to three-fifths.²¹ Figures are available showing that for lack of prompt and competent medical attention hundreds of thousands of children suffer from correctible deficiencies of sight, hearing, teeth, and mouth formation, and from aftereffects of disabling diseases.

Deficiencies in individual medical care are paralleled by lack of hospitals and clinics. In an astoundingly large portion of the country, especially in rural areas and small communities, there are no readily available hospital or out-patient clinic facilities for mother or child.

Many of the causes of this serious situation are economic in nature. The health of the majority of persons is purchasable, and many families are able from their own resources to provide the necessary care for their children. But a larger number cannot afford to do so; the population in many areas cannot support doctor and nurse; communities of limited size and means cannot afford hospitals, clinics, and competent personnel for health administration. The remedy is, in the main, to direct a suitable portion of the Nation's resources to areas where unmet needs are great.

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

- 1. The health and well-being of children depend to a large extent upon the health of all the members of their families. Preventive and curative health service and medical care should be made available to the entire*

²¹ *The Disabling Diseases of Childhood*, by Dorothy F. Holland. American Journal of Diseases of Children, Vol. 58, No. 6 (December 1939), pp. 1157-1185.

population, rural and urban, in all parts of the country. A considerable portion of the population is able to obtain from its own resources all or part of the necessary medical service. Another large section of the population, however, consists of families whose incomes are below the level at which they can reasonably be expected to budget all the varying costs of illness without interfering with the provision of other items essential to the family's health and welfare; for these there should be available adequately supervised medical and dental care through a program financed by general tax funds, social-insurance systems, or such combination of methods as may be best suited to local conditions.

To achieve these ends will require expansion of full-time local public-health services organized on a city, county, or district basis; construction and adequate support of health centers and hospitals as needed, especially in rural areas, and more effective use of existing medical services and facilities; more effective coordination of community public-health and medical services conducted by various agencies, public and private.

2. For all women during maternity and for all newborn infants, complete service for maternity care and care of newborn infants should be available through private resources or public funds. Such service involves—

Care of the mother throughout pregnancy, including the service of a qualified physician, of a public-health nurse, preferably one with training in obstetric care and care of newborn infants, and of a dentist, and nutrition service and social service when needed.

Care at delivery by a qualified physician, aided by a nurse trained and experienced in delivery nursing care, or such care as may be given by qualified and appropriately supervised nurse-midwife services when care by a physician is not available.

Obstetric and pediatric consultation service when needed to aid general practitioners in their care of mothers and infants.

Hospital care, as necessary, in an approved hospital provided with obstetric and pediatric consulting staff, isolation facilities for infectious patients, and facilities for care of emergency or complicated cases, for transportation, and for social service.

After the birth of the child medical and nursing care for the mother in home, hospital, or clinic; supervision of nutrition of the nursing mother; and medical and nursing supervision of the newborn infant.

3. *For all infants and children preventive and curative medical services should be available, including adequate means for control of communicable disease. These services, financed through private resources or public funds, include—*

The supervision of health and development of infant and child at stated intervals throughout the period of growth, and care by qualified physician and public-health nurse when needed, at home, in child-health conferences, in schools, and in physicians' offices, including preventive dentistry by qualified dentists for children of preschool and school age and social services as needed.

Health instruction in schools and health education of parents in methods of conserving both physical and mental health.

More intensive and widespread programs of safety education.

Effective nutrition services.

Mental-health service when needed.

Medical care for sick children in home, clinic, or office of qualified physician. Facilities should be available

for expert diagnosis and care of sick children, for consultation by pediatricians in appropriately organized diagnostic and treatment clinics, and for social services as needed.

Hospital care, as necessary, in an approved hospital provided with pediatric consulting staff and separate wards for children; convalescent care, as necessary for medical, social, or economic reasons, for children in need of prolonged care to restore health and fit them for family life and community life.

4. In the sharing of responsibility for public maternal and child-health services by local communities, States, and the Federal Government, the following principles should be observed:

The local community should provide maternity care and health and medical services for children, as needed, as part of its public-health responsibility, utilizing available qualified services and facilities.

The State should give leadership, financial assistance, specialized service, and supervision in the development of local services, and should be responsible for setting standards of care and service acceptable on a State-wide basis.

The Federal Government should assist States through financial support, research, and consultation service, and should be responsible for setting standards of care and service acceptable on a Nation-wide basis.

Federal grants to the States for the expansion of maternal and child-health services, including hospital and medical care, should be made on a basis that will raise most effectively the level of service in those areas where it is not adequate and so reduce existing inequalities in these fields of service.

5. In recognition of the fundamental importance of nutrition to the health of children, the President is re-

requested to appoint a national nutrition committee composed of physicians and other scientists, economists, agricultural experts, consumers' representatives, teachers, and administrators. Such a committee should review our present knowledge, coordinate the various efforts now being made to improve nutrition, and point the way toward a national policy in this field.

6. A broad program of education to enlighten citizens in all the aspects of the program of health and medical services for mothers and children is a fundamental necessity.

Because of the primary importance of personnel training and of research, the Conference urges special emphasis on the following recommendations:

7. In undergraduate professional schools and graduate curricula the training of personnel to develop and carry on maternal and child health is a major problem. Special provision should be made for training such personnel.

8. Particular training should be given to nurse-midwives to prepare them for work in remote rural areas, under the supervision of physicians qualified for this purpose.

9. Adequate support should be given to research as well as to direct service through public appropriation and private grants, since research underlies all advance in practical programs of health and medical care, including dental health for mothers and children. The results of research may markedly reduce the costs of care.

Children Under Special Disadvantages

A true concern for all children must take into account the fact that many of them labor under heavy handicaps in competition with their fellows. In some rural areas the majority of children are handicapped in this sense. To meet the needs of these children it is important to extend activities in housing, education, recreation, libraries, economic security, health, and medical care, and to adapt many of them to rural conditions.

It is fortunate that in the face of an appalling increase in destitution among the families of the Nation during the depression, local, State, and Federal governments have assumed responsibility for economic aid to families to an extent not known before in our country's history. That children generally have not suffered serious conditions of starvation or disease has been due, above all, to the acceptance of responsibility for their assistance by governmental agencies.

Social Services for Children

In smaller numbers children suffer from many types of handicap within the family, or in their own mental or physical development, which require special attention. Argument is no longer necessary to convince the American public that society as a whole has the responsibility of providing for children to the extent that their natural guardians are unable to give them adequate care and protection. Authority for such social protection is found generally in legislation, but inadequate personnel and facilities have greatly limited its effectiveness.

Certain physical and mental handicaps, such as defective vision or hearing, crippling conditions, and mental deficiency,

are the more obvious disabilities. State and local governments, with Federal aid for the care of crippled children, are providing adequate physical, educational, and social care for many handicapped children, but others still remain without such services as would prepare them for a full or partial sharing in community living on equal terms with their fellows.

Children whose handicaps are less tangible—arising from unhappy or disrupted family relationships, or emotional and psychological disturbances—need to be discovered, studied, and treated according to their needs, within their own homes if possible. Until recent years society has made little public provision for social services to children that will reach them in their own homes before their difficulties have become serious or have led to grave consequences. Recently provisions of the Social Security Act and other Federal and State legislation have served as a foundation for the introduction or extension of services of this type in close cooperation with other community measures, whether under public or under private auspices.

This Conference recognizes that in a democracy responsibility for the care of children centers in the family. Social services furnish the means by which society helps to meet the special needs of children whose well-being cannot be fully assured by their families and by those community services that are intended for all children alike. The primary objective of child-welfare service is to provide for every child who has some special need whatever assistance and guidance may be required to assure him security and protection, within his own home if possible, and opportunity for his growth and development.

To attain this objective the Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. *Social services to children whose home conditions or individual difficulties require special attention should be provided in every county or other appropriate area. An obligation rests upon both public and private agencies for the development of adequate resources and standards of service. This should apply not only to agencies dealing specifically with child welfare but also to any organization whose work affects children.*

2. *The local public-welfare department should be able to provide all essential social services to children, either directly or through utilizing the resources of other agencies. Public and private child-welfare agencies should co-operate in a program which will assure the proper service to every child in need. Child-welfare services should be based on the following principles:*

Public child-welfare services should be available to every child in need of such help without regard to legal residence, economic status, race, or any consideration other than the child's need.

Public-welfare agencies should assume continuing responsibility for children received into their care as long as they are in need of public protection or support.

Children should be given whatever service they need from public-welfare agencies without court commitment, unless change of legal custody or guardianship is involved, or legal action is needed because of the circumstances of the parents' neglect or the child's delinquency.

Public child-welfare services should be provided as part of general public-welfare administration, which should also include aid to dependent children and general relief.

For children who require care away from their own homes, there should be available such types of family-home and institutional provision as may be necessary to insure their proper care, having due regard for special handicaps and problems of adjustment. Child-caring agencies and institutions should have adequate

funds for the maintenance of children, and also for such services as are required to meet their physical, emotional, educational, and religious needs, utilizing to the fullest extent community resources available for these purposes.

Where public funds are paid to private agencies and institutions, they should be given only in payment for care of individual children whose admission to service has been approved by the public agency and who remain its responsibility. Such payments should be made on a per-capita, per-diem basis and should cover as nearly as possible maintenance costs. If service is needed by the family while the child is in foster care, there should be a definite understanding between the public-welfare department and the private agency as to which is to render such service.

3. It is the function of the juvenile court to provide legal action based on social study, with a view to social treatment, in cases of delinquency requiring court action and in cases involving adjudication of custody and guardianship or enforcement of responsibilities of adults toward children. As local public-welfare departments become equipped for adequate child-welfare service, juvenile courts should be relieved of cases not coming within these classes.

Courts dealing with children's cases should have judges and social-service staff qualified to give adequate services to children. In the larger communities a probation staff of qualified workers is required. In less populous areas the court may use the services of child-welfare workers in the public-welfare department.

Social service is needed in connection with court action in cases of delinquency and neglect and in many cases of other types. Social investigation and service, for example, are necessary in cases of divorce and legal separation when custody or responsibility for the support of children must be adjudicated; in cases of adoption, of determination of

paternity and support of children born out of wedlock, and of desertion and nonsupport of families. Where jurisdiction over these cases is not placed in the juvenile court, such service should be supplied either by the court having jurisdiction or through cooperative arrangements with the juvenile court or community welfare agencies.

4. The State welfare department should provide leadership in developing State and local services for children and in improving standards of care, and should administer such services as cannot be provided appropriately in local units. It should have a division responsible for promoting the interests and welfare of children and a definite appropriation for this purpose. Besides general promotion and leadership, the service for children provided by the department should include State financial assistance to local units of government to enable them to undertake preventive measures and, when necessary, service to children, and to reduce prevailing inequalities in local community services.

5. The Federal Government should enlarge its child-welfare activities so as to make them more fully available to the States, and through the States to local units of government, and to private child-welfare agencies and parents.

These activities should include publication of child-welfare information; research; advisory service to authorities and agencies responsible for developing and administering child-welfare programs; leadership and funds for demonstration of service and development of methods of administration; and grants to States for assistance to needy children in their own homes and for such other forms of service to children in need of special protection as experience may prove to be necessary.

6. Community, State, and Federal child-welfare services should be developed on the basis of careful planning participated in by health, educational, and social-service agencies, public and private, and by representative citi-

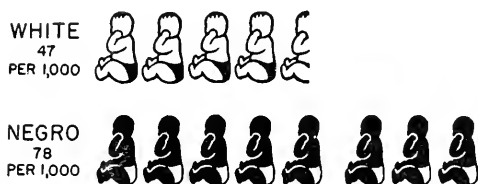
zens. Interdepartmental cooperation in the administration of these programs should be developed by Federal, State, and local governments.

Children in Minority Groups

The children in families of minority groups often suffer several types of handicaps. Their parents have less chance for employment and economic advancement; they experience a degree of social exclusion; they may receive an unequal share in public and private services: school, recreation, medi-

Chart 6

WHO ARE THE BABIES THAT DIE?



Each symbol represents 10 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1938.

Source: Reports of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

cal care, and welfare service. The largest minority group and the greatest sufferers from discrimination are Negroes, but minority status is also experienced to a degree which varies from time to time and from place to place by Indians, Mexicans, Jews, and some foreign-born people. There are about 5 million native-born children under 16 years of age in the United States who are other than white, and about 8 million children who are of foreign-born or mixed parentage.

One of the disadvantages suffered by Negro children is strikingly illustrated in chart 6, showing the high infant death rate among Negroes in comparison with the infant death rate among white children.

Science has made it clear that strict race lines cannot be drawn and also that no factual basis exists for any assumption

that one race is superior to another. The reasons for prejudice and discrimination must, therefore, be sought mainly in social and economic rather than in biological factors. The problem is a large one quantitatively in the United States and one which must be met if we are to give all children reasonable opportunity for health and happiness.

The educational program for reducing inequalities of the minority groups will of necessity be of long duration. It will be based on the conviction, held by this Conference, that the denial of opportunity to any child on the basis of race, color, or creed is undemocratic and is dangerous to the welfare of all children. The effort to eliminate race prejudice and accompanying discrimination must be made in home and school, local and national organizations, public and private agencies.

The effort to obtain equality of opportunity for children without regard to race, color, or creed should be pursued in the places and institutions that have potentially the greatest influence upon children. The first of these is the family; parents have a particular obligation to protect and strengthen the natural tolerance of their children. Schools are next in strategic position to foster tolerance and promote cooperation. Success depends upon the attitude of the teachers in the daily life of the school. Opportunity presents itself particularly in the teaching of social sciences. We need better literature on race relations and great care in the selection of textbooks on the subject.

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

- 1. Civic and social agencies, labor and consumer organizations, political parties and governmental agencies, not only should place no obstacles in the way of adequate representation and participation of minority groups both in the ranks and in administrative and policy-making*

activities, but should welcome and encourage such participation.

2. *In housing programs financed by Federal, State, and local governments, persons should be given equitable benefits according to need, regardless of race, creed, and color; moreover, programs should be so administered as to assure important minority groups due participation in the development and operation of housing programs.*

3. *Employers and labor organizations should establish outspoken policies against discrimination on grounds of race and color; anti-alien bills which exploit race prejudices should be discouraged; practices which limit the suffrage of citizens in minority groups should be corrected; and organizations deliberately exploiting race prejudice should be condemned.*

4. *In the local use of Federal and State grants the same standards should be applied to minority groups as to others, and this should be a specific legislative requirement enforced by public opinion and safeguarded by the right of the individual to appeal and to obtain a fair hearing.*

5. *The kind of protection afforded by fair labor standards legislation and certain social-insurance benefits should be provided for those engaged in agriculture and domestic service, occupations which include a large proportion of certain minority groups.*

Children in Migrant Families

In recent years another group of disadvantaged children has become increasingly conspicuous—the children in migrant agricultural families. Through press, motion pictures, Government reports, and literature the plight of these families has become known to a large part of the American public. There are about one-third of a million such families in interstate migration comprising about a million persons.²² Up to a

²² Estimate of Farm Security Administration in *Migrant Farm Labor; the problem and ways of meeting it*, p. 1 (Washington, November 20, 1939).

decade or two ago we thought of migrant agricultural labor as a body of men following the harvest through the wheat belt from Texas to Canada, and then either returning to their homes or wintering in midwestern cities like Minneapolis, Kansas City, or Omaha. The migrant family of today represents a far different problem. It is, in a sense, today's version of the family of the covered wagon that trekked to Oregon, of the early settler who left Massachusetts to found towns in Connecticut, and of the Scotch-Irish and German families who crossed the Appalachians and helped to create some of our oldest States.

This migrant family of our day represents part of the continuous history of the development of agriculture in this country. Tenant, share-cropper, farm owner, and agricultural laborer have been "normal" patterns in agricultural occupation. Perhaps the heavily mortgaged ownership of the recent decades might be regarded as still another.

The conditions in American agriculture have been changing as a result of soil exhaustion, erosion, changes in production, and, in recent years, the introduction of industrial agriculture—that is, of large-scale farming by corporate owners. The development of cotton and fruit raising has converted part of agriculture into an intensely seasonal occupation requiring concentration of large numbers for a brief period at a given place while offering practically no employment for the rest of the year.

Under these circumstances some sections of industrial agriculture have resorted to practices that had existed in industry for many years, such as the creation of large labor reservoirs to meet increasing demands for labor, to keep wages low, and to prevent labor organization. Wholesale importation of labor from one part of the country to another has been used to augment the supply of agricultural workers and has aggra-

vated the natural difficulties inherent in the problem. Employer-employee relations tend to be in the crude stages in which labor organization is looked upon with suspicion and resentment.

It is estimated that more than half the area of the United States is involved in this migration.²³ Some of it represents places from which the migrant family was forced out by agricultural necessity; others are places affording seasonal labor to the migrant worker.

The farmer and his family forced from their land, seeking a living, and offering the labor of husband, wife, and children to the demands of industrialized agriculture confront "not a theory but a condition." They are lured to California, to Arizona, to other States, sometimes deliberately, sometimes by rumors. They exhaust their slender means in getting there. Wages tend to be low, periods of labor short, movement haphazard. The family is underfed, exposed to disease. The children do not stay in one place long enough for school; the adults do not stay long enough to exercise their rights of citizenship; conditions of housing are usually miserable, whether provided by employer or improvised into shanty towns by migrants. These families are among the best prospects for malaria and typhoid.

The migrant agricultural family is really a family, not just a group of laborers. A special study of 6,655 such families, comprising 24,485 persons in California, showed that 36 percent of these persons were children under 15 (and the majority of these under 10). Another 9 percent were between 15 and 19. These children bear the full brunt of the deprivations of migrant families. Moreover, nearly two-thirds of the children in the migrant agricultural family, as exemplified by these 6,655 studied, are in families of 5 and more persons, and even

²³ *Migrant Farm Labor*, by Frederick R. Soule, p. 4. Farm Security Administration. San Francisco, 1938.

up to 10 and more—the old-fashioned American rural family, this time on wheels instead of on their own land.²⁴

To meet this complicated and deplorable situation, instances have occurred of employers acting individually as enlightened and public-spirited citizens. There has been the beginning of effective labor organization. Intelligent planning to meet the public-health problems involved has been attempted by at least one State authority, with some supervision of shelter. The Federal Government has recognized the interstate and even national aspects of the problem and has assisted in numerous ways, through the Farm Security Administration, in providing relief, housing, health service, school space, and indirectly giving protection from exploitation. To the extent that this service rescued thousands of families from starvation and disease, we have another example of the competence of this democracy to adjust its instrumentalities of government to the needs of the people.

Many studies of the problem indicate that neither the legal nor the economic problems, nor those of health and schooling for the children, can be handled by the States to which these migrants go as their exclusive burden and responsibility; that the benefits offered through labor organization are seriously retarded by the handicaps of unsympathetic employer organization and unenlightened local public opinion; that such protection against unemployment, old age, and disabling accident as has been provided for industrial employees is not available for these workers; that meanwhile close to half a million children are deprived of assurance of adequate food, clothing, shelter, education; and that these families represent on the whole farmers of excellent work habits, Americans for generations back.

²⁴ *A Study of 6,655 Migrant Households in California, 1938*, pp. 53–55. Farm Security Administration. San Francisco, 1939.

The situation of the migrant agricultural family is somewhat similar to that of the pioneer of past generations. However, we now know more about the economic factors involved and have had some experience in administrative and governmental procedures for dealing with both the economic and the human problem. In the light of this perspective and experience it should be possible to plan intelligent and constructive measures. Leadership should be taken by the Federal Government, since the situation is not bounded by State lines and is part of the national agricultural problem.

The problem of the migrant family is national in scope. But shelter, education for children, health supervision, and medical care must be made available locally wherever and whenever needed. A plan that will assure migrant families and their children essential minimum provisions for their well-being must place administrative and financial responsibilities where they belong, and must assure the availability of services and facilities wherever such families may need them.

It is recommended, therefore, that the Federal Government accept responsibility for the development of an inclusive plan for care of migrant families. Such a plan should be based on the following principles:

- 1. Financial responsibility for interstate migrants should lie with the Federal Government, since local public opinion and existing settlement laws and other statutes deny assistance or community services to many migrant families. In the actual provision of such facilities and services the Federal Government should operate through State and local authorities wherever practicable, but should take direct responsibility for their operation whenever necessary.*

- 2. State and local governments should take financial and administrative responsibility for families that migrate within State boundaries. Actually groups of migrant fam-*

ilies often include both interstate and intrastate migrants. In the provision of services, therefore, Federal, State, and local governments should work out cooperative plans which will assure the provision of services to families when needed, regardless of where ultimate financial responsibility may lie.

3. Government employment services should take responsibility for the orderly guidance of migrant labor in seasonal employment in agriculture and other occupations.

4. Plans for the employment of migrant families should take into account the desire for resettlement of those families for which seasonal labor is only a makeshift and whose primary desire is to carry on independent farming operations.

5. To deal with the more immediate and also the continuing problems of agricultural workers and their families, which constitute at present the majority of migrant families, it is desirable that measures relating to wages and hours, collective bargaining, and social security be extended as soon as practicable to all agricultural labor, with such adaptations as may be necessary to meet their needs.

6. Housing and sanitary regulations should be made applicable to the shelter of migratory and seasonal labor, and adequate appropriations and personnel should be made available to the appropriate agencies to enforce these regulations.

7. Long-range measures that may prevent families from becoming migrants should be introduced both in agriculture and in industry—in agriculture, by such means as preventing soil erosion and soil exhaustion, and helping farmers to meet technological changes and difficulties of financing operations; in industry, by measures to offset technical and economic changes that result in communities being stranded because of permanent discontinuance of local industries.

Public Administration and Financing

Readers of this report will be struck by the frequency with which recommendations suggest changes in the administrative and financial responsibilities of local, State, and Federal governments. The present division of responsibilities is based not on existing needs but largely on conditions of colonial origin and pioneer days, when isolation made government and community services practicable only on a local basis. Towns, counties, and school districts as government units became the general pattern. Their existence was perpetuated and extended in Territorial and State governments. Later State legislation increased the number of these units by permitting subdivision of counties and townships and incorporation of towns, villages, boroughs, and cities. Functions of public health, education, and relief were left for the most part with the local units.

Size of Administrative Units

A study by the Public Administration Service in 1931-32 showed that there were more than 175,000 governmental units for various purposes in the United States.²⁵

	<i>Number of units</i>
Counties (in 46 States) and parishes (in 1 State).....	3, 053
"Towns" and townships (in 23 States).....	20, 262
Incorporated places.....	16, 366
School districts.....	127, 108
Other units.....	8, 580

Some reduction in these numbers has occurred, especially through consolidation of school districts, but there are still more than 120,000 units for school administration.

²⁵ *The Units of Government in the United States*, by William Anderson, p. 1. Public Administration Service Publication No. 42. Chicago, 1934.

There would be nothing inherently wrong in this system if each unit were administratively and financially capable of providing adequate service in the several functions left to the local governments. A few simple facts about these units show how futile such an expectation must be. For example, the average area of counties is 334 square miles in Kentucky and 8,129 in Arizona. There are some counties with more population than whole States or even a group of States; other counties have fewer inhabitants than some townships. More than four-fifths of the cities, villages, and boroughs of the United States had less than 2,500 population in 1930. Yet these places often had separate authority over public health, relief, education, and so forth. Hundreds of townships have fewer than 100 inhabitants.²⁶

Sharing of Financial Responsibility

To the technical and administrative difficulties of conducting complicated public services under such circumstances must be added the overwhelming difficulty of financial support. Beneficial and necessary services, appropriate to modern scientific knowledge and possibilities, require a large expansion of the field of public operations. But the traditional tax system, which places the major burden of local taxation on real estate, is obviously not adapted to carry any such load in a country where a large proportion of private incomes is derived from industrial activities that are not reached by real-estate taxation. The difficulty is accentuated in areas where local income from all sources is inadequate to cover the necessary services, especially as such areas commonly have a disproportionately large child population. The adjustments required consist chiefly in methods for transferring the increased tax burden from real estate to other tax resources more

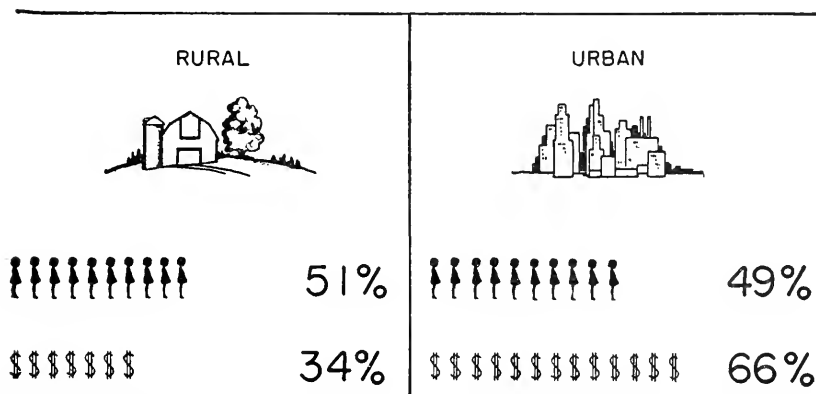
²⁶ Ibid., pp. 17, 20, 21.

directly connected with actual economic income, and therefore from local to State and Federal tax systems.

The recent Nation-wide survey of education found that well-to-do communities in several States could provide \$100 or more per child as easily as some local units in the same States could provide \$1 per child.²⁷ Yet there can be no such vast

Chart 7

CHILDREN AND INCOME, RURAL AND URBAN



Symbols represent 5 percent of the children under 16 and of the national income, respectively, in the United States.

Distribution of children based on 1930 census; income distribution based on estimates for nonrelief families in 1935-36, in *Consumer Incomes in the United States* (National Resources Committee, 1938).

difference in what needs to be spent per child if each is to get reasonable opportunities for education, economic security, and health protection. To raise the amounts needed for such opportunities many communities would have to tax themselves far too heavily.

In the fields of health services and relief the needs of the poorer communities are greater than those of other communities, but their financial resources are less. In general, the resources of rural areas are much less than those of urban areas, as is shown in chart 7.

²⁷ Advisory Committee on Education: *Report of the Committee*, p. 20.

The first substantial gain from State action in reducing inequalities in the availability of public funds came by State grants to local units in the field of education. The necessity of State participation in financing schools was recognized in Pennsylvania as early as 1834. There has been increasing participation of States in public-health and relief measures. By 1925 State aid to local units for these and other purposes was approximately 8 percent of local revenues. In 1935 it had reached 12 percent.²⁸ Federal funds transmitted through the States have had an increasing part in this State aid.

The practice of Federal grants to States began approximately 150 years ago, when land grants were made for common schools and for various educational institutions. The wisdom of this practice in the light of the economic and social history of the United States is reflected in its later extension up to the present time.

During the past 80 years expansion in Federal aid has included land-grant colleges, State forest service, agricultural-experiment stations and extension service, highways, vocational education and rehabilitation, rural sanitation, and public-health services. The greatest extension occurred during the past decade as a result of the depression. General relief, work relief, social insurance, and public assistance to certain groups are aided by Federal grants to States. The percentage of State revenues derived from Federal grants has increased, though not so greatly as appears to be the general impression.²⁹ In addition, the Federal Government has expended large sums within the States for such programs as Work Projects Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration, and Farm Security Administration.

²⁸ *Facing the Tax Problem*, p. 577. Twentieth Century Fund. New York, 1937.

²⁹ The *Bulletin of the Treasury Department* for August 1939 (p. 4) estimates that Federal grants to States in 1938 amounted to 14.1 percent of State tax revenues and Federal aid. *Facing the Tax Problem* (p. 576) gives this proportion for various previous years as follows: 1912, 0.9 percent; 1925, 10.9 percent; 1928, 7.8 percent; 1932, 12.5 percent.

The unequal capacities of local and State governments to carry on their functions could be dealt with in various ways. One way would be to remove certain of these functions entirely from local or State responsibility. Another way would be to aid these governments by grants from Federal funds. This Conference believes that it would be unsound to relieve governments on State and local levels from responsibility for such services as schooling, recreation, health, and medical service. It is important, however, to assure a reasonable minimum in these services and to remove inequalities so far as possible by spreading the cost. The Conference therefore endorses a consistent and well-organized system of grants by States to localities and by the Federal Government to States, for the support and expansion of certain services to children. Federal grants on a matching basis do not fully equalize either support or service. Various methods of apportioning costs have been tried. It is clear that whatever methods are used, more recognition must be given than at present to apportionment by Federal and State governments on the basis of the needs and resources of the States and of the localities within the States.

Professional Personnel and Lay Participation

In other sections of this report there are references to the need for qualified personnel to carry on the work and for an informed public to support and to give critical attention to the services rendered. Competent services to children depend in the long run on two groups of people: On the one hand, the general public who make these services possible; on the other, those employed to render the services. Many services essential to the health, education, and well-being of children have long since grown beyond the point where they can be supplied by parents and voluntary associations alone. Large and in-

creasing amounts of public funds are devoted to them, important public policies are involved, and income and taxes of citizens are affected. It is the direct concern of every person in the United States that funds should be expended with the greatest benefit. The quality and efficiency of the services and the well-being of the people receiving them depend directly on the competence of the personnel employed. To the extent, therefore, to which the selection of this personnel is invaded by partisan politics or is carried on without unremitting attention to the matter of competence, the funds of the taxpayer will be wasted and those who should be served will suffer.

The application of merit systems to the selection and retention of public employees in these fields is therefore of primary importance in making democracy an efficient instrument for public service. Although there has been encouraging progress in the application of the merit principle in Federal and State governments and in some cities, large areas of public service are still without the safeguards of this principle.

It is of the utmost importance that merit systems be adopted in administration of public service in local, State, and Federal governments. To accomplish this it is necessary that the general public remain interested and become increasingly informed with respect to the meaning and standards of these services. The lay citizen becomes more effective and more important in policy making to the extent that the operation of the services themselves is entrusted to personnel selected for competence and training. This Conference looks to a time when the body of public servants will be carefully selected and retained by reason of professional qualifications and will be backed by a strengthened and informed public opinion.

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. The number of local administrative units of government for health, education, and welfare should be reduced, and units sufficiently large and appropriate for efficiency and economy in performing the functions of government should be organized.

2. Financial responsibility should be shared by governments at the various levels—local, State, and Federal—taking into account the needs in the respective localities and States and the resources of these governmental units.

3. Merit systems which will assure competent personnel to perform the services essential for children should be adopted in public administration in local, State, and Federal governments.

Government by the People

Every recommendation in this report which involves public action is predicated on certain characteristics of the electorate. It is the American ideal that every adult citizen shall take intelligent part in the determination of public policy. Steady progress toward this end has been made throughout our history. However, before the ideal can achieve full reality, certain existing conditions and practices must be corrected. In the first place, limitations on suffrage through intimidation, coercion, the levying of poll taxes, and other undemocratic practices must be removed. In the second place, those who are entitled to participate in the affairs of government through the ballot and otherwise must accept the responsibility for the complete discharge of their civic obligations. In the third place, the exercise of voting privileges should rest upon knowledge of public affairs and of social and economic trends and conditions. Finally, there must be added to the universal informed exercise of the franchise a profound and continuing concern for the promotion of the general welfare and the maintenance and improvement of democratic institutions. Nothing less than this is a suitable goal for a democracy; nothing less can see our democracy through the difficult problems which confront the world.

The Conference makes the following recommendation:

Undemocratic limitations on suffrage should be removed, especially when they tend to discriminate against those in low-income groups or racial minorities. Participation in government and the exercise of civic responsibility can then become the clear obligation as well as the privilege of citizenship.

Call to Action

This Conference is convinced that the recommendations submitted in this report are essential to the well-being of the children of the United States of America. Many can be put into effect in the near future, but the Conference has not limited itself to matters susceptible of immediate action. Time will be necessary to put some of the proposals into effect. This is a program for 10 years, and some of it for a longer period. But even immediate measures require a perspective and an orientation; the larger program should be revealed in taking next steps. The Conference believes that its proposals are well within the capacities of the American people and that the economic well-being of the country will be enhanced by them. What the American people wish to do they can do.

“Somewhere within these United States, within the past few years, was born a child who will be elected in 1980 to the most responsible office in the world, the Presidency of the United States,” said Homer Folks at the first session of this Conference. “We cannot guess his name or whereabouts. He may come from any place and from any social or economic group. He may now be in the home of one of the soft-coal miners, or in the family of a sharecropper, or quite possibly in the home of one of the unemployed, or in a family migrating from the Dust Bowl, or he may be surrounded with every facility, convenience, and protection which money can buy.

“If we could unroll the scroll of the future enough to read his name and whereabouts, how many things we would wish to have done for him, how carefully we would wish to guard his health, his surroundings, his education, his associates, his travels, his ambitions.”

What is needful and useful in preparing a President for his exacting duties is true in lesser degree of any public servant and leader of men. In our democracy it is true also of every citizen who exercises the right of suffrage or carries his share of the common burden of doing the work of the world. What we might wish to do for that unknown child, the future President, we must be ready to do for every child, so that he may be ready to live a full life, satisfying to himself and useful to his community and Nation.

This document is a call to action: to do now those things that can be done now and to plan those that must be left for the morrow. But whether today or tomorrow, action is possible only if we have faith in the goals to be reached.

The White House Conference on Children in a Democracy holds these to be the convictions of the American people:

That democracy can flourish only as citizens have faith in the integrity of their fellow men and capacity to cooperate with them in advancing the ends of personal and social living.

That such faith and such capacity can best be established in childhood and within the family circle. Here the child should find affection which gives self-confidence, community of interest which induces cooperation, ethical values which influence conduct. Secure family life is the foundation of individual happiness and social well-being.

That even in infancy, and increasingly in later years, the welfare of the child depends not alone upon the care provided within the family, but also upon the safeguards and services provided by community, State, and Nation.

Recognizing the immediate necessity for providing against the material dangers of the moment, this Conference is impressed also with the equal necessity for maintaining internal strength and confidence among the people of the strongest democracy in the world. If the American people, in a world showing many signs of break-down, can present a picture of a Nation devoting thought and resources to building for the distant future, we shall strengthen by these very actions our own faith in our democracy.

Holding these convictions and recognizing them as our common heritage, the Conference pledges its members and calls upon all other citizens to press forward in the next 10 years to the more complete realization of those goals for American childhood which have become increasingly well-defined from decade to decade and to which the foregoing pages have given expression.



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